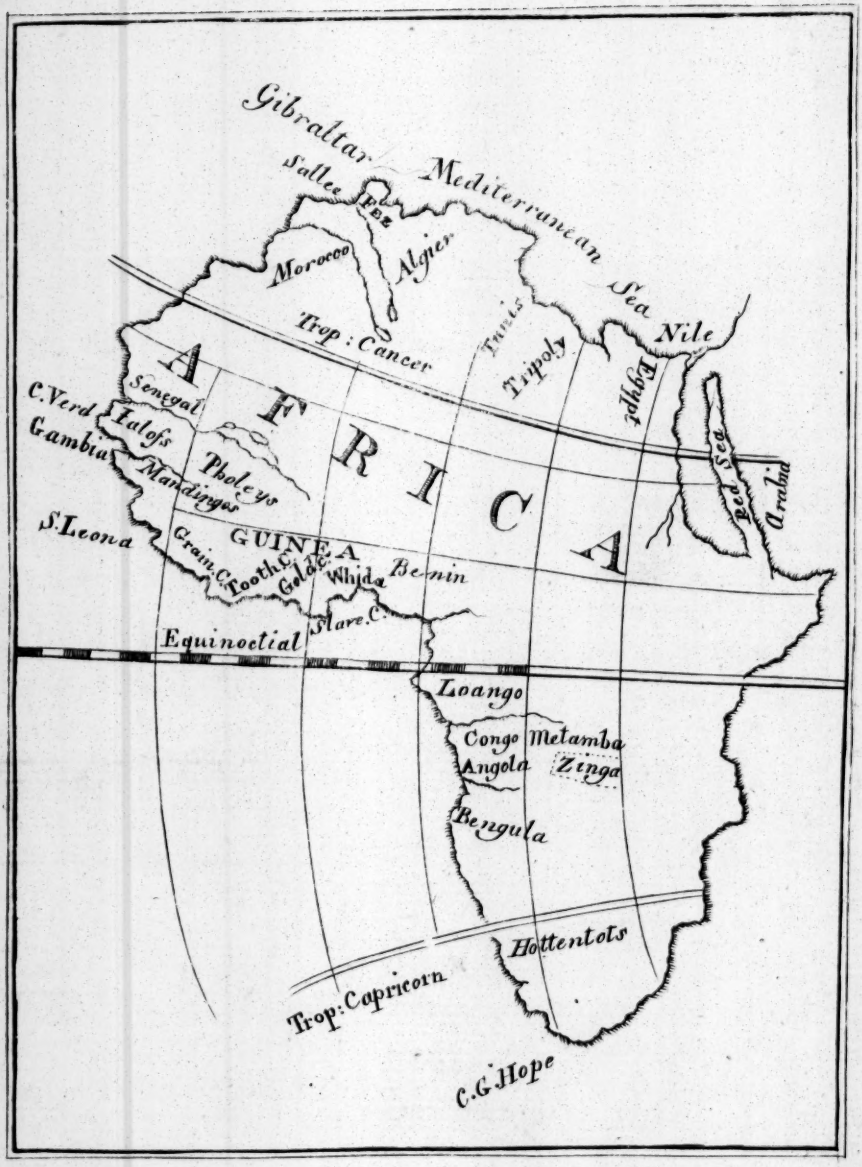
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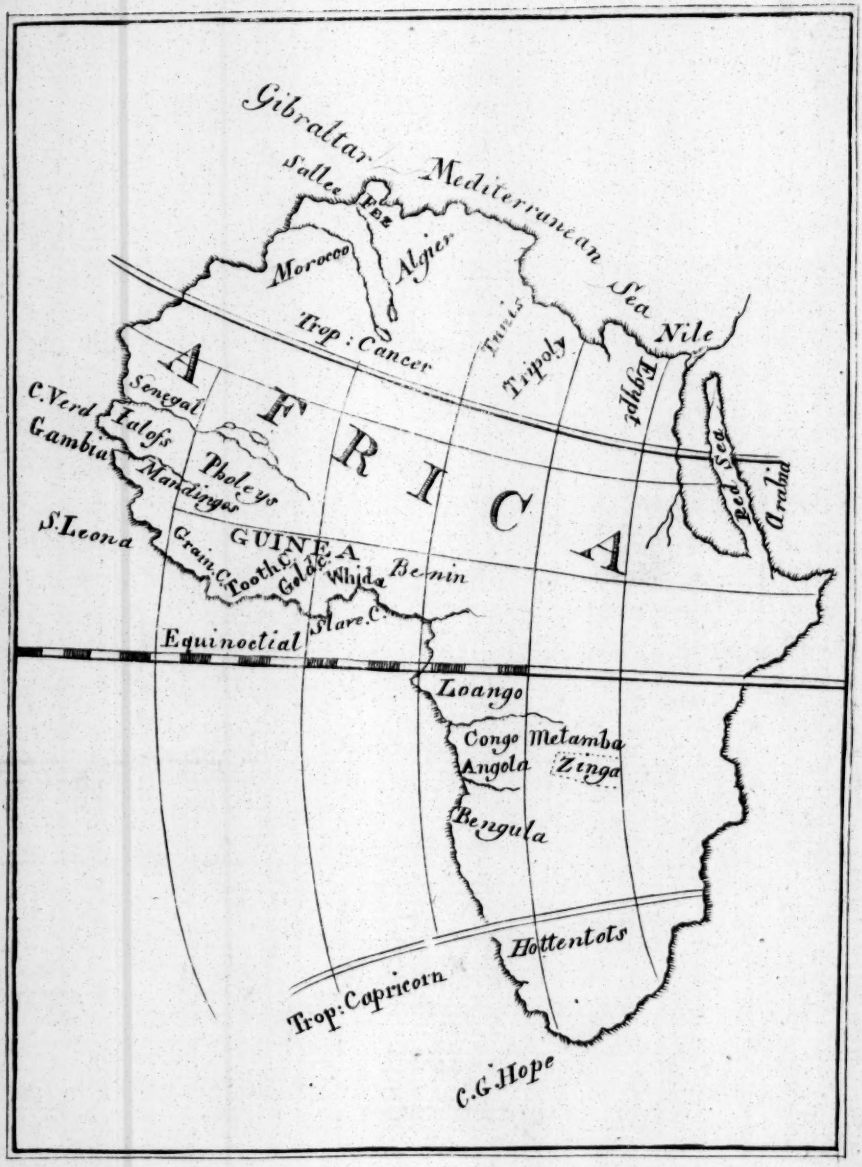
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C. G. Hope

Mr. Kerrick from the Author
P. Peckard D.D.

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AM I NOT A MAN?

AND A BROTHER?

WITH ALL HUMILITY

ADDRESSED TO THE

BRITISH LEGISLATURE.

Nihil HUMANI a me alienum.

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed by J. ARCHDEACON Printer to the UNIVERSITY;

And ſold by J. & J. MERRILL, Cambridge; T. PAYNE & Son, London; and J. & J. FLETCHER, Oxford.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

IF any one ſhould think it worth while to enquire who the Author is, and why he conceals his Name, the Anſwer muſt be like that of the Spartan to his friend, who deſired to know what he concealed under his Robe. I keep it concealed under my Robe, he replied, that you may *not* know what it is. Various reaſons make me wiſh to be unknown, that are not of any conſequence but to myſelf. I therefore conceal them alſo as well as my name. If there be any thing in the enſuing ſlight treatiſe that may be worth attention, it ought not to loſe its effect for want of a Name; if not, the moſt dignified Name ought not to give it influence.

Let it be ſufficient, that the Author is a ſincere and zealous friend to the Rights of Man, to the Civil Conſtitution, and reâl Honour of his Country, and to the Chriſtian Religion; particularly to that divine precept of doing every poſſible kindneſs to all our fellow creatures. This ſets him above all partial attachments whatſoever, that exclude a General Good-will, and inſpires him with diſintereſted and Univerſal Benevolence.

Am I not a Man? and a Brother?

SINCE the abominable traffick in the Human Species, or according to the common term, The Slave Trade, hath become a Subject of general converſation and enquiry, many ſenſible productions have appeared from the preſs, demonſtrating the enormity of this practice, conſidered with reſpect to the Rights of Humanity, the Rules of Morality, and the Spirit of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation. On all theſe points it plainly appears that nothing can be ſaid to any effect in defence of this horrid iniquity. But to the eternal diſgrace of this nation having received the ſanction of *Law*, one author *, in a diſcourſe delivered before the Univerſity of Cambridge, has ventured to attack it on this ground, and maintained that even in this view it is not defenſible. I freely declare myſelf of the ſame opinion. No human inſtitution whatſoever can make it juſtifiable. *Law*, by certain permiſſions, or by its ſanctions may procure and may eſtabliſh, but cannot juſtify the commiſſion of evil. To make *Human Law* properly valid, its foundation and object muſt be in conformity with the

* Dr. Peckard.

Commands of God, and the Common Rights of Human Nature: but the Traffick in the Human Species is deſtructive of the one, and contradictory to the other, and therefore is not juſtifiable by any Human Inſtitution.

The advocates for this traffick finding that their proceedings are contrary to the dictates of Humanity, of Morality, and of Religion, and indefenſible even under the Sanction of Human Law, have ſhifted their ground, and taken up a different mode of defence. They ſay that neither Religion, Morality, nor Humanity is concerned in tranſactions with Beings that are not of the Human race. This too, is indeed a grievous error; for even ſuppoſing the Negroes to be Brutes, the benevolent ſpirit of religion teaches us that a truly righteous man is merciful to his beaſt, and that they are entitled even in this view to a treatment far different from that which they receive at our hands.

The opinion now induſtriouſly propagated, for what reaſon I am unwilling to ſay, is that the native inhabitants of Africa are not of the Human Species; that they are Animals of an inferior claſs; or if they have any relationſhip to the human race, they are ſome ſpurious brood, ariſing from ſome impure mixture (no one knows when or where) and are ſo far debaſed as to have loſt all title to Humanity. That they have no idea of *Civil Government*, no idea of *Moral diſtinctions*, no idea of *Religion*, no idea of *a God*, or a *future ſtate* of exiſtence. Theſe are bold aſſertions, and unwarrantable opinions, which on examination will not be found agreeable to Truth. They are equally contrary to ſound ſenſe, to true philoſophy,

phy, and to hiſtorical fact. Nor indeed would it be worth while to refute them, were they not taken up and maintained in a dogmatizing manner, by ſome perſons whoſe poſitions and declarations, notwithſtanding their falſehood, will have an extenſive, and pernicious influence*.

When men of high rank and eſteem, men of liberal education, of fine parts, and great erudition, men regularly trained in the ſtudy of Law, and Politics, whoſe opinions and judgment in difficult matters of State have been anxiouſly requeſted, and much depended upon—when men ſo qualified, are nevertheleſs ſo prejudiced, and ſo hardened in heart, as with unbecoming vehemence to maintain and ſpread theſe falſe and humiliating opinions of their Natural Brethren: what but the worſt of bad conſequences muſt follow? a continuance of the moſt deteſtable of all crimes, the traffick in Human Blood.

I will begin then with the firſt of theſe favourite doctrines, that which ſtates the Negroes to be a ſpurious brood ariſing from ſome impure mixture; which, we are given to underſtand, "may be preſumed, from the concupiſcence expreſſed by the Males of an inferior race of animals for Connection with the Black Women."

The inſtances of unnatural concupiſcence either amongſt the Negroes themſelves, or from other

* I do not know that any of theſe advocates for Slavery have, on the points juſt mentioned, in form given their opinions to the public; it may be they are aſhamed to do it; but this I know, that too many are both earneſt and artful in this unworthy work: having not only been preſent at debates of this ſort, but been a witneſs alſo to their unhappy effect: in which, ideas of imaginary policy have been of a power ſuperior to the Precepts of Religion, and the Dictates of Humanity.

animals, if urged as proofs that Negroes are not of the Human race, ſeem to me indeed very inconcluſive. Let us ſuppoſe, for argument ſake, that the ſpecies of Ape, called the Ourang Outang, may have ſhewn an appetite, or even (as is aſſerted) a preference for the Black Women over the females of his own ſpecies; does it therefore follow that the Black Women are not of the Human race? This is but looſe reaſoning. Does not hiſtory inform us that this animal has ſometimes made laſcivious attempts upon Women of a white complexion? Are they alſo to be degraded from the dignity of Human Nature becauſe One of the Brute Creation is unnaturally laſcivious? Or if it ſhould be urged that either Negroe Men or Women have at any time ſhewn a ſimilar impurity of Appetite, is any one in this enlightened age ſo uninformed as to ſuppoſe that from any unnatural mixture a third claſs of Beings can be produced that ſhall be prolific? But the Negroes are prolific; they are therefore not deſcended from an impure connection, but ſtand regularly in the place that God has been pleaſed to allot them in the ſcale of created Beings, namely, in the rank of Men.

Unnatural luſts, whereſoever they exiſt, though for a time they counteract, and in ſome degree diſturb the order of Creation, yet they cannot ſubvert it, or make one Kind break in upon another. Theſe infamous ſenſualities prove indeed a great degree of Moral Depravity, which has even from the earlieſt times infatuated mankind. The hiſtory of Lot, and the deſtruction of Sodom is a dreadful example of its prevalence in that diſtant age. Moſes alſo (Lev. xviii.) has given

given particular prohibitions againſt the enormities ariſing from this depravity, and tells the Iſraelites that all the enumerated "*abominations have the men of the Land done, who were before you, and the Land is defiled.*" The authors generally denominated the Profane, both in proſe and poetry give ample teſtimony of the ſame wretched depravity in every age. St. Paul, addreſſing himſelf to the people of the firſt empire in the world, then in a ſtate of high refinement, makes the ſame charge againſt them. Our laws make theſe offences capital, which ſuppoſes their exiſtence; and in the laſt century one even of Epiſcopal order (Atherton) was brought to an ignominious death for the commiſſion of a crime againſt nature.

This moral depravity then hath held its unnatural dominion over men in every age, and in every part of the world; and yet, as far as we are able to judge, the order, and regularity of Nature continues as it was from the beginning. From hence I conclude that no irregularity of men can introduce an irregularity into the works of God: that they cannot introduce any permanent race of animals that was not created by him: that God hath given to every *Kind* of Beings bounds which cannot be paſſed. *Sorts* indeed may intermix, and produce new *Sorts*; but *Kinds* will be for ever kept diſtinct. And this is a law which ſubſiſts even in the vegetable as well as the animal world; otherwiſe the order of creation might ſoon be thrown into confuſion. A total chaos would enſue; that would require a new Creation. Negroes therefore, being able to produce their offſpring, are not a ſpurious brood

from any unnatural mixtue, but are of the race of Men originally created by God. And as black men connected with white women, and black women connected with white men produce offſpring, which offspring reſpectively is prolific, I therefore maintain that Black and White men, though different in *Sort* are the ſame in *Kind*, and conſequently that Negroes are Men.—But too much of this already; common delicacy, and common modeſty forbid any farther attention to ſo prepoſterous a topic.

Having here made uſe of the terms *Kind* and *Sort*, with ſome deviation from logical preciſion, I muſt offer a ſhort explanation of my meaning, by way of apology. I have conſidered *Man* as a *Kind*, uſing *Kind* as the Generic term, and Black, White, &c. as the different *Sorts*, or Species of Men. This I confeſs is not ſtrictly according to rule, becauſe in the diviſion of *Being*, *Animal* is the Generic term, and *Man*, *Beaſt*, &c. is only a Species of that Genus. But as that *One* term, which may with truth be aſſerted of *Many*, that which, as Logicians expreſs it, is *Unum aptum prædicari de multis*, may with ſome degree of propriety be called a Genus, or *Kind*, and as the term *Man* may with truth be aſſerted of *Many*, of the white, the black, the tawny, the olive complexioned, and the copper, I therefore hope to be pardoned for the liberty of claſſing *Man* as a Genus, or *Kind*, and the differently complexioned individuals as ſo many ſpecies or *Sorts* of men.

But other arguments of a different nature have been produced in defence of this favourite opinion, that ſeem to me not more concluſive than that already conſidered. There are doubtleſs many

many circumſtances of conſtitutional difference amongſt the Individuals of the Human race. The moſt ſtriking perhaps is that of Colour. But as the cauſe of this difference is not determined, as it is "acknowledged to be unknown whether it reſides in the reticular membrane between the ſkin and ſcarf ſkin, or in the ſcarf ſkin itſelf, whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of ſome other ſecretion," it ſeems to me to be rather too haſty a ſtep, from this circumſtance publickly acknowledged to be as to its nature, its origin, and its ſeat unknown, to form a poſitive concluſion of ſuch importance as that the Negroes are not Men. Beſides, where are we to draw the line of diſtinction? how are we to determine with preciſion who is or is not black? There are many gradations in human complexions. And if they are to be denominated black who are not white, and all who are black are to be ſtruck out of the Human race, we ſhall unhumanize at leaſt nine tenths of the inhabitants of this world.

But farther, how does it appear what was the colour of the firſt man and woman? were they both white, or both black, or one of a light, and the other of a dark complexion? If we may be permitted to form any concluſion from the name of the firſt man, we may be induced to think that he was of a dark complexion; at leaſt that he was not white, as the word Adam ſignifies Red, or that which is of the colour of Blood. And from the ſame authority we may conclude that Eve was of the ſame complexion, as we are told that in the day that God created Man, Male and Female created he them, and bleſſed them,

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and called *their name* Adam, in the day when they were created. Gen. v. 1, 2. Be this as it may, it is probable that either the White men or Negroes are ſeminal varieties from the firſt man and woman, and therefore that they equally partake of Humanity. In the hiſtories of black nations, except my memory fails me, I have read that ſometimes a white child has been produced when both the parents were undoubtedly black; and more than one inſtance of this ſort is related in Captain Cook's Voyages *. I have alſo heard that a white woman has been delivered of a black child, when both the parents were ſuppoſed to be white.

Theſe ſeminal varieties amongſt individuals are permitted, perhaps ordained in every claſs of Beings, but they never proceed ſo far as to produce any alteration in the Kind to which they belong. The different ſorts of Dogs are almoſt without number, all produced probably from the Dog, Fox, or Wolf, or ſome intermixure of theſe, which are of the ſame *Kind*, and are ſeminal varieties originally derived from one male, and one female of the ſame *Sort*. But no connection of any of theſe with Cat, or Sheep, will produce a Third that ſhall produce offſpring. Not many years ſince an Animal, which the Author has ſeen, was brought into the world from the connection of a Buck with a Cow. The two Kinds were plainly viſible in the offſpring, but this (by information) never could be made Prolific.

The ſame Law holds good with reſpect to Ve-

* Mr. Jefferſon, I underſtand, has given a curious account of that Anomaly in nature, the *White Negroe*, of which, inſtances now and then appear chiefly of the Female Sex.—See Month. Review, May 1788. See alſo the Hiſtory of *White Negroes*. Mod. Un. Hiſt. Vol. xvi.

getables.

getables. The ſeeds of an Apple will produce Apples, but all perhaps with a conſiderable degree of difference from thoſe of the original tree. And by engrafting, and other modes of intermixing the various ſeminal varieties, Sorts in appearance quite new may be produced. The ſame may be ſaid of Peaches, Nuts, &c. But the ſeeds of an Apple can never be made to produce a Peach, or Nut. And if by any unnatural mixture of Kinds, a Third Being may be artificially brought forth, that Third never will become Prolific. Kinds then will, according to the appointment of God, be ever preſerved and kept diſtinct from one another. But from Seminal Varieties of Individuals, and different intermixtures of theſe Varieties, we might eaſily account for all the differences we perceive in every particular claſs, or ſort of Being. And if we alſo take into conſideration the difference of climate, and its effects, with the manner of Education, and many other local circumſtances, we may by the ſame mode of reaſoning account for every difference of appearance which we perceive in the Individuals of the Human Race, with reſpect to Colour, Magnitude, Bodily Form, or Mental Ability, from the Samoyede to the Patagonian, and from the woolly, and, as we contemptuouſly think, ſtupid Negro, to the faireſt and moſt ſprightly European.

The author of theſe imperfect obſervations had once an opportunity of ſeeing four generations deſcended from a Negroe married to a white woman: in which the gradations from black to white, and the change of other characteriſtic circumſtances was very viſible, till at length the difference of the fourth generation from the white children

children of the country was ſcarcely perceptible. It is ſaid that the Spaniards after three generations from an intermixture of Spaniard and Peruvian, conſider the offſpring of that connection as Spaniſh *.

It ſeems to be an impropriety in terms to ſpeak of *White* Negroes, but ſuch perſons there are, more properly denominated by the Portugueze, Albinos. Of which we are informed that there are great numbers in different parts of Africa. Nor can this variation in complexion be, as hath ſometimes been conjectured, the effect of diſeaſe, becauſe they are found at leaſt equally robuſt, if not more ſo, than the black Natives. And on this preſumption the Portugueze have ſent ſome of them to work in their mines in America, but find them ſo ſtrong in mind as well as body, and ſo reſolute that they ſtarve themſelves to death, rather than ſubmit to Slavery. Theſe Albinos are all deſcended from *black* parents, but have the other particularities of the Negro form. There is therefore very little ſtreſs to be laid upon the tincture of the ſkin as an argument to prove that the Native Africans are not of the *Human* race, ſince the Africans are ſometimes found to poſſeſs the European Tincture.

There was a time when a new and ſhocking ſort of the Human Kind might poſſibly have been introduced into the world. About ſome fifty years ſince a poor creature was exhibited as a public ſpectacle. His body was covered with

* Upon the ſubject of Colour ſee Mr. Clarkſon's excellent Eſſay on the Slav. and Comm. of the Hum. Spec. part 3. ch. 9. &c. alſo Mod. Un. Hiſt. of Loango, Congo, and Angola, vol. xvi.

morbid

morbid excreſcencies that were thought ſomething like the quills upon the porcupine. It was ſaid, I remember, at the time, that this unfortunate Man married, and had a ſon very like to himſelf; but what afterwards became of either father or ſon, the author never was informed. Theſe obſervations might be much enlarged and varied, but theſe may be ſufficient to ſhew that we ought to be very cautious how we peremptorily pronounce any one *Not* of the Human race merely from different circumſtances of external appearance.

We were in danger all of us not long ſince of being degraded from our natural dignity by a very ingenious, a very learned, and a very worthy man, well known in the literary world. It ſeems that he had an acquaintance in the highlands of Scotland, who to the other members of the human body had the addition of a tail, which was imagined to be not unlike that of a Monkey. This circumſtance occaſioned a doubt whether Man might not be of the Monkey race. But ſurely this doubt attributed rather too much to this præternatural elongation of the Os Coccygis. I remember many years ſince to have ſeen in the Muſæum at Oxford, a Horn which grew upon the head of a woman. It is very much like that of a ram, or that with which Jupiter Ammon is generally repreſented. If we ſay that Men are Monkies on account of this anomalous tail of a Highlander, might we not with equal juſtice ſay on account of this horn that women are of the race of Rams, or are deſcended all from Jupiter Ammon?

To thoſe who may be influenced by arguments of

of this ſort I would take the liberty to recommend an attention to the venerable, but now neglected authority of Burgerſdicius, Crackenthorpius, and various other names equally melodious. Here they might find in logical definition what Man really is; namely, that he is *Animal riſibile, rationale, bipes et implume*; a riſible, rational, two-footed, unfeathered animal: that all animals who poſſeſs theſe diſtinguiſhing qualities are men, notwithſtanding that a præternatural tail or horn may occaſion ſometimes a little demur. But the Negroes poſſeſs theſe diſtinguiſhing qualities, therefore, &c.

On this point indeed a conceſſion is neceſſary. Since their acquaintance with the European dealers in Human blood, it is true that they have never been known actually to laugh, becauſe laughter is an exertion expreſſive of joy and happineſs. But on Anatomical Inveſtigation it would appear that they are nevertheleſs poſſeſſed of the fifth pair of Nerves, and the communication between the Plexus Nervoſus, and the Diaphragmatic nerves in equal perfection with the Europeans *. They have therefore the power of laughter from nature, and ſo far as this proof goes they are Men. Nay, they have in fact, by our *wholeſome* and *neceſſary* diſcipline continually impreſſed upon their countenance the *Sardonian* laugh, or that which expreſſes the excruciating agonies of Death reſulting from intolerable torture. I ſuppoſe farther, that it will be allowed that they are not feathered, and that they have two feet. They are poſſeſſed then of three out

* Theſe have been repreſented by ſome Anatomiſts as the immediate Organs of Laughter.

of

of the four Logical particulars that conſtitute a Man.

The reader, it is hoped, will pardon all that looks like levity in the preceding paſſages: for groſs abſurdity eludes the force of regular argument, and ſeems fitteſt to be anſwered by ridicule or even Satyrical pleaſantry. I alſo earneſtly entreat his indulgence for any aſperity of expreſſion into which I may inadvertently have fallen: for the indignation I feel at ſuch inhuman barbarities may probably have led me beyond the bounds of ſtrict moderation.

The remaining article, or their Rationality, ſhall be more ſeriouſly conſidered, after a few words beſtowed on ſome other Anatomical marks of difference ſaid to exiſt between theſe unfortunate creatures, and their European Tormentors.

The Negroes then, it is urged, "have thick lips, and woolly hair: they have alſo leſs hair on the face and body than Europeans. They ſecrete leſs by the Kidneys, and more by the ſkin, which gives them a diſagreeable odour." The diſcoveries relative to the Pulmonary Apparatus, ſaid by Mr. Jefferſon to have been made by Mr. Crawford, an ingenious Anatomiſt, refer, I apprehend, to theſe points of Anatomy: but ſurely from theſe circumſtances we ſhall not be juſtified in concluding that Negroes are not of the Human Race. But then "they require leſs ſleep than Europeans." A Black, it is ſaid, after hard labour through the day, will be induced by the ſlighteſt amuſement to ſit up till midnight, though he muſt return to his ſevere labours with the dawn of the morning. Poor Creature! and muſt this circumſtance, which ſhews his reſignation, his humility,

humility, his patience, his contentment under his unmerited and cruel fate, muſt this be a reaſon for degrading him from his rank in the creation? It is acknowledged that the Negroes, are at leaſt as brave, and more adventurous than the white men. They are, it is ſaid, more ardent after their females, but that Love ſeems with them to ariſe more from Appetite than Sentiment. Alas! where ſhould they learn that delicacy of Sentiment which is to be found only in refined and poliſhed Society? And if all who are void of theſe delicate ſentiments are to be degraded from the rank of men, I fear that even in refined and poliſhed Society the argument would have a more extenſive operation than they who make uſe of it would wiſh. "Comparing the Negroes, it is ſaid, with Europeans, by their faculties of Memory, Reaſon add Imagination, it appears that in Memory they are equal to the Whites: in reaſon much inferior, as ſcarce any could be found capable of tracing and comprehending the Inveſtigations of Euclid." But even in this land of learned improvement, might we not produce many a moping ruſtic, and many a modern fine Gentleman who labour under the ſame incapacity?

But they are charged with being vicious, ſenſual, given up to meer appetite and paſſion, without any check or controul from reaſon. Are they therefore not Men? Good God! how many are there in the higheſt ranks of poliſhed ſociety who exceed the loweſt Negroes in theſe enormities, who to a blind and deſperate indulgence of ſenſual appetite, and inordinate paſſion, without any check or controul from reaſon, and even with the advantages of a liberal education, ſacrifice health,

health, property, independance, family, friends, Country! We muſt not therefore from the low and irrational gratifications that *may* be found amongſt the Negroes conclude that they are not Men, leſt we ſhould involve under that character many who now hold the moſt diſtinguiſhed place in polite aſſemblies.

I will now proceed to the proof of their Rationality, the fourth logical quality that tends to denominate them Men. This proof I ſhall deduce from four Topics, their ſkill in Muſic, in Medicine, in Poetry, in Moral Writing; to which might indeed be added their ſingular ingenuity in many mechanical arts; as alſo their great ſkill in imitating Gold by ſome Chymical proceſs to ſuch a degree of Accuracy as frequently to deceive the European Traders. A few words will be ſufficient on each.

They have given then plain demonſtration of a turn and power for compoſition in Muſic. They have been found capable of compoſing a Catch; no mean effort in that delightful Science, honoured amongſt us by the protection of the Great, and encouraged by annual rewards. They have alſo various African inſtruments of Muſic; one in its conſtruction nearly allied to the Guittar; another called the Balafo, compoſed of ſeveral pipes of hard wood ſet in order, which diminiſh by little and little in length, and thus produce the different notes of the Gamut†. "Their abilities in muſic are ſuch as to have been generally noticed. They play frequently upon a variety of Inſtruments without any other aſſiſtance than their own ingenuity. They have tunes of

† See Gennes Voy. Collect. vol. viii. p. 954.

their

their own compoſition. Some of theſe have been imported among us, are now in uſe, and are admired for their ſprightlineſs and eaſe, though the ungenerous and prejudiced importer has concealed their original *."

Several of theſe inſtruments they accompany with the voice, and produce a delicate and moſt enchanting harmony. In the year 1670 the French ſent ſome ſhips to Ardrah under the command of Commodore D'Elbee. Two days after his arrival, The Prince Royal and The Captain of Commerce came to the Sea Side to conduct him to Court. Different companies of Blacks approached with drums beating, and colours flying and various inſtruments of Muſick, which in Military Proceſſions are alſo attended by Bards who animate the men by ſinging the valorous actions of their anceſtors. The Maſter of Horſe walked on foot, richly dreſſed, and bearing on his Shoulder the Sword of State. Several Grandees followed, and the proceſſion was cloſed by above 10,000 Blacks. The Prince was about 30, of a large ſtature, his face handſome, his eyes fine, his teeth regular and white, his countenance ſmiling, and his whole manner agreeable. He wore an European hat, with red and white feathers, a robe of Taffety, that flowed looſe and long behind, a broad Taffety Scarf and red Morocco Slippers. He ordered dinner in the Tent, which conſiſted of Beef, Wild Boar, Goats Fleſh, Pullets, and other Fowls with ragouts made of Palm-oil. He was ſerved on the knee, and fanned all the while by officers with ſcented fans. Water for waſhing was ſerved in Cryſtal Cups, with

* Clarkſon on Slav. and Comm. p. 119.

napkins

napkins neatly folded, after the laſt courſe; when Palm Wine, Sack, Port, and Claret, were ſet upon the Table in the faſhion and with all the politeneſs of the moſt refined Luxury uf Europe.

After this the Commodore was introduced with great formalities to the King, who was about ſeventy, tall and robuſt with large and lively eyes; penetration and wiſdom appeared in his countenance. He was dreſſed very richly in the Perſian faſhion, and wore a crown of finely poliſhed Ebony. The King propoſed to the Commodore a Viſit to the Prince, who received them in his Andience Chamber, which was ſpacious and handſome, and the floor was covered with a rich Turky Carpet.

This viſit being ended Monſ. D'Elbee ſupped, by invitation with the High Prieſt. The fineſt Mats were ſpread for Table Cloths on a Turky Carpet. Sattin and Taffety Cuſhions were brought for the Gueſts to ſit on, while China Plates, with fine Napkins were ſerved round, and the repaſt conſiſted of Ragouts, boiled, and roaſted meats, with divers ſorts of Wines.

Muſic enlivened the entertainment, and voices were heard like thoſe of children at a diſtance, which correſponded, like the Echo of the ſtronger voices, and were accompanied with the ringing of ſmall bells. The Prieſt, perceiving the Commodore's attention, aſked his opinion, who expreſſed his aſtoniſhment and delight in the ſinging of the Children. They are my Wives, the Prieſt replied, who afford you this amuſement. It is not cuſtomary to ſhew our Wives; but to convince you of the Eſteem I have for your Nation,

I will give you that ſatisfaction if you pleaſe. He then conducted the Company to a high Gallery, with a window into the Hall where they had ſupped. Here were 70 or 80 women, covered only with taffety Paans, the upper part of the body being wholly naked. They ſat in rows on Mats at the ends and ſides of the Gallery, undiſturbed, and unconcerned at the entrance of the Company, and continued with a modeſt and baſhful look to ſing, and play with iron rods and ſmall copper bells. So much for their Proficiency in Muſic.

With reſpect to a capacity for Medical knowledge, it appears that the Province of Carolina is under higher obligations to a Negroe than perhaps to any other practical Profeſſor of that important Science. It was a Negroe who diſcovered a Specific, an Effectual, and a never-failing Remedy for the bite of the Rattle Snake. For the diſcovery of this beneficial Medicine, this No man, this brute beaſt, this Slave, had his freedom purchaſed, and a hundred pounds a year ſettled upon him during his life by the General Aſſembly of Carolina †.

With reſpect to a talent for Poetry, Phyllis Whately, though not a Poeteſs of the firſt rank, has written Poems, all circumſtances fairly conſidered, that are of great and uncommon merit. I will tranſcribe a few of her Lines, authenticated in the fulleſt manner, as I find them recorded in Mr. Clarkſon, not having the volume of her works by me.

† See Dr. Buchan on the bite of poiſonous Animals.

To

To Evening.

Fill'd with the praiſe of him who gives the Light,
And draws the ſable curtains of the Night,
Let placid ſlumbers ſooth each weary mind
At morn to wake more heavenly and refin'd;
So ſhall, &c.

To Morning.

Aurora hail! and all the thouſand dyes
That deck thy progreſs thro' the vaulted ſkies!
The morn awakes, and wide extends her rays,
On every leaf the gentle Zephyr plays
Harmonious lays, &c.

As to moral and epiſtolary writing, Ignatius Sancho in his Letters that are already publiſhed, has done honour to himſelf, and to Human Nature. There are others in Manuſcript, yet unpubliſhed, which the author of theſe pages has ſeen, that alſo have great merit. His Epiſtles in general breathe the pureſt and moſt genuine Spirit of Univerſal Benevolence; and ſome of thoſe that are ſtill in Manuſcript contain moſt excellent inſtructions to a young Gentleman of the Univerſity for his literary, his moral, and his religious conduct in the courſe of his education. In thoſe that are publiſhed we ſee even an enthuſiaſtic zeal for the undoubted rights of man, and for the intereſt of true Religion. And this Man, this rational and moral writer, this able aſſiſtant, and conductor of youth in liberal education, this enthuſiaſt in the duties of Univerſal Benevolence and Evangelical Religion, this exalted Being muſt be thruſt down from the ranks of Men, becauſe

the tincture of his ſkin is black. Oh! ſhame, ſhame!

As I have thus caſually mentioned the article of Religion, I hope I may be permitted without offence to any man or any body of Men, to aſk one plain queſtion, Has the Society for the Propagation of the Chriſtian Religion ever made any endeavours to convert the African Negroes to Chriſtianity? If they have, on what principles have they done it? Is it becauſe theſe Negroes are not of the Human race? if ſo, as far as we are able to judge they are not capable of Religious ideas, and conſequently are not accountable Agents. And indeed that they are *not* Men the author has heard more than one of that venerable ſociety poſitively aſſert. It is but loſt labour to endeavour to teach thoſe creatures a Syſtem of Moral and Religious Duty for the proper uſe or abuſe of which a ſolemn account muſt ſometime be given, if after all, from the inferiority of their ſtation among created Beings, they are utterly diſqualified, and conſequently cannot be expected to give an account of their actions.

If on the other hand this venerable and much reſpected ſociety have not made any endeavours of this ſort, from the groundleſs prejudice that Negroes are not Men, might it not be worth while to make the experiment? ſince it plainly appears from numberleſs inſtances that they are capable of Religious Inſtruction. Nay, ſince it is certain from indiſputable fact that in their own country, before their knowledge of the Europeans, they had ideas, and ſyſtems of Religion though very imperfect and erroneous. Their acquaintance with us indeed ſo long as the Slave Trade

Trade ſhall be continued, muſt always be an inſuperable bar againſt their converſion, becauſe to Chriſtianity will naturally be transferred the horror they muſt have againſt Chriſtians, in whom they ſee nothing but actions of Oppreſſion, and Rapine, Cruelty, and Murther; whoſe determined purpoſe, and unceaſing occupation is, not to convert the unhappy Natives to Chriſtianity, not to give them comfort from the knowledge of the Duties, and the rational Expectations of Man, but to drive them from all comfort, and from their country, and to ſend them in a ſtate of miſerable ſlavery into a diſtant world. If inſtead of this a Civil Commerce were eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and a friendly intercourſe for the mutual exchange of the Productions and Commodities of the reſpective Countries, their dread of us would ſoon ceaſe, their fears ſubſide, confidence would be reſtored, and the offices of Kindneſs, and Benevolence take place of Diſtruſt, Hatred and Abhorrence. This would open a way for the introduction of Moral and Religious Inſtruction. Their preſent abhorrence of Chriſtians then ought not to deter us from the attempt; for there is great reaſon to hope, (a Civil Commerce being once formed) if Miſſionaries were properly ſettled among them who would keep clear of Human Syſtems, and avoid all metaphyſical ſubtleties, teaching with fidelity Evangelical Religion, and confirming its excellency by their conduct, that thouſands would be as ready to embrace the pure and unadulterated Goſpel as formerly a chief man of their race, who was an early and moſt illuſtrious convert to Chriſtianity.

A man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great au-

thority under Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treaſure, had been to Jeruſalem to worſhip, was returning, and ſitting in his chariot, read Eſaias the prophet. Philip who had joined him ſaid, Underſtandeſt thou what thou readeſt? He ſaid, how can I, except ſome man ſhould guide me? then Philip began at the ſame ſcripture, and explaining to him the prophecies of Iſaiah, preached unto him Jeſus. And as they went on their way they came to a certain water, and the Eunuch ſaid, See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized? and Philip ſaid, If thou believeſt with all thine heart, thou mayeſt. And he anſwered and ſaid, I believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God.

I am willing to hope that this ſhort extract from the Acts of the Apoſtles, may in ſome degree abate the uncharitable prejudice that a Negroe is not capable of moral or religious inſtruction. But if this be not ſufficient, let the advocates for this opinion turn to the Hiſtory of the Metambic Miſſion, and the converſion of the renowned and high-minded Zingha, about the middle of the laſt century; which will afford ample refutation of all theſe idle notions, and may be ſeen in the 16th vol. of Mod. Univ. Hiſt. as extracted from the accounts of perſons perfectly well acquainted with every circumſtance of her moſt extraordinary life: from her Confeſſors, from the other Portugueze Fathers, and from the moſt worthy Prefect of that Miſſion.

But here I am interrupted; for now as I am writing is brought to me a moſt elaborate treatiſe juſt publiſhed in defence of the Slave Trade, pretending to be founded on the authority of Scripture,

ture, and ſupported principally by the examples of Abraham and Joſeph: whoſe characters I ſee by the firſt glance are drawn in all the higheſt tints of Declamation. This treatiſe has been highly ſpoken of, and recommended to me by ſome—eminent Divines—as containing an unanſwerable proof that the Slave Trade is fully juſtified by the authority of Scripture. As this appears to me to be abſolutely impoſſible, I will endeavour to diveſt myſelf of all prejudice and peruſe the contents with impartiality.

Theſe excellent men then, Abraham and Joſeph, it is readily acknowledged were perſons of exemplary piety and virtue. Yet they were men, and therefore ſubject to the infirmities of Man. We acknowledge but *One* man to be entirely free from theſe defects. As men they were not abſolutely impeccable, and their exalted virtue could not ſanctify or change the nature of any actions, if any ſuch there were, as were not conſiſtent with ſtrict rectitude.

It is the province of Declamation to engage the paſſions, to miſlead the judgment. I am confident that I wiſh not to depreſs the character of theſe venerable men, or to miſlead the reader by any falſe light of Oratory, even if it were in my power; intending only to examine with candour the argument from the examples of Abraham and Joſeph, ſo far as relates to the ſubject of Slavery. I alſo wiſh with the utmoſt ſincerity of heart that all due authority may be given, and all proper reſpect for ever paid to the ſacred writings. But at the ſame time, I am very ſenſible that the authority of Scripture has frequently been miſapplied, and the Letter brought forward in ſupport

of thoſe practiſes which in reality are condemned by the Spirit.

This is evidently the caſe with reſpect to the pamphlet which now lies before me; which demands an hour more for the examination of ſome things advanced in it, which appear to me on the firſt ſlight peruſal as being indeed very extraordinary and equally incapable of defence. I am inclined to think that the author did not deliberately intend any perverſion of the ſenſe of Scripture, but was influenced by what ſeemed to him to be truth. While at the ſame time it muſt be ſaid there is the ſtrongeſt appearance that a favourite idea had poſſeſſed his mind, which gave an improper bias to his judgment, and led him into many miſrepreſentations. Who Mr. Harris is, or what may be his ſituation, I am entirely ignorant: am therefore free from all enmity againſt him, but think his performance on many accounts very reprehenſible.

Theſe miſrepreſentations of Scriptural Authority are very notorious, and have almoſt in every age and every country been productive of fatal conſequences. Falſe ideas of God, and his benevolent diſpenſations, falſe ideas of Man, and his Nature, of his duties in this Life, and his expectations in another, have all been propagated in the world and ſupported under the ſhew of Scriptural Authority.

Under this Sanction have not many taught as an unqueſtionable Truth, a Doctrine that to many others appears as nothing different from a Species of Polytheiſm? Do not many Chriſtians maintain the Pre-exiſtence of Jeſus Chriſt, his Equality with the Almighty, and in ſhort his abſolute

ſolute Deity? are not theſe articles in the ſtrongeſt terms reprobated by others? Have not many taught what many others think a great reflection upon the divine juſtice, the Imputation of Moral Guilt to All men, for the Offence of One? Has not one ſevere ſect of Chriſtians maintained that God Almighty created the greateſt part of Men with the expreſs purpoſe of condemning them to Eternal Miſery*? Does not the majority of Chriſtians maintain as an Eſſential Truth, to which thouſands of innocent lives have been ſacrificed, that which others conſider, and juſtly too, as a natural Impoſſibility? Let it be here particularly noticed that I attend not in the leaſt degree to the Truth or Falſhood of any of theſe Doctrines, and produce them only as being contradictory, and yet that both the defenders and the oppoſers of theſe and many other articles equally fly to Scripture as authority for their reſpective opinions? But though I wiſh to judge charitably, and endeavour to think as well as poſſible of all men, how different ſoever their opinions may be from my own, I hope I may conſiſtently with candour ſay that theſe, and all ſimilar contradictions muſt ariſe, though not from deſign, yet from ſome miſapprehenſion of the Spirit of Scripture, and a miſapplication of its Authority. I verily believe this to be the caſe when it is produced in defence of the Traffick, and the Slavery of our Fellow-Creatures.

But to examine rather more particularly the force of the argument in favour of the Slave Traffick as ſtanding upon the examples of Abraham and Joſeph.

* See Brandt's Hiſt. of Reform. paſſ.

Abraham

Abraham is acknowledged to be a moſt excellent character "exemplary for faith in God, reliance on his promiſes, obedient to his commands, humanity to his fellow creatures, integrity in his dealings, diſintereſtedneſs of heart," (Mr. H.) and for many virtues that diſtinguiſhed and adorned his character.

"Now it is very remarkable (ſays Mr. H.) that amongſt the *Works* of this man of theſe exalted virtues, it is very remarkable I ſay, that there ſhould be found among his *works*, the practice of dealing in human fleſh." p. 14, 15.

The concluſion is that the Practice of Dealing in Human Fleſh is juſtifiable, becauſe Abraham, as it is repreſented, dealt in human fleſh.

But this is not a very candid ſtate of the caſe. The practice of the age, and the country of Abraham, for the performance of the buſineſs of agriculture, principally for tending and taking care of the ſheep and cattle, was either to hire perſons for a term of years, as was the compact, ſoon after the time of Abraham, between Laban and Jacob, or, as might perhaps be the more general method, to purchaſe the ſervice for Life, either of the perſons themſelves, or of thoſe, who according to the notions of thoſe days, and to local circumſtances, apprehended they had a right to diſpoſe of them. The practice however was *Eſſentially* wrong, whenever it was carried into execution without the conſent of the parties immediately concerned, and thus given up againſt their own will to ſervitude. But even if we can for a moment ſuppoſe it to be right, yet in reſpect of the modern mode of dealing (as Mr. H. juſtly terms it) in Human Fleſh, the circumſtances

cumſtances are of a nature very different indeed; inſomuch that the modern practice, and the cuſtoms of Antiquity will not bear compariſon. For ſo far as we may judge from what authority we really have upon this ſubject, the perſons thus engaged in ſervitude were always treated with humanity, frequently with reſpect, and not ſeldom have been advanced to dignity and honour. It is too well known from modern proceedings that the preſent practice of "dealing in human fleſh" cannot be juſtified either by the principles, or the practice of this high antiquity. I do not know what conceſſions might not be agreed to, if Mr. H. could influence a Liverpool merchant, a Guinea man Captain, or a Weſt Indian Planter to make their proceedings always conformable to the proceedings of Abraham with reſpect to his Bond-ſervants.

But by extending the excellence of Abraham's character to every action of his life, and aſſerting all to be now right merely becauſe formerly done by Abraham, the argument built upon this maxim might be found to prove too much. If Moral rectitude of Conduct is conſtituted by his example and practice, excluſively of all other conſiderations, and an action may in theſe our days be juſtified entirely on this principle, we then may juſtify what according to modern ideas in modern terms would be called either Bigamy, or Adultery. For if Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, (as ſhe is called, Gen. xvi. 1.) was concubine to Abraham, then, according to modern ideas, and modern terms, his connection with her was Adultery. If during the life of Sarah ſhe was his wife (as ſhe is called, *v.* 3.) then according to modern ideas, and modern

dern terms, his connection with her was Bigamy. And if his example, merely as ſuch, is really a ſufficient juſtification of modern practice in one inſtance, why not in another? If it really be a Juſtification of the modern Traffick in Human Fleſh, why not alſo of Bigamy or Adultery? the argument is equally concluſive in one caſe as in the other: it either juſtifies both, or neither.

With reſpect to the argument taken from the example of Joſeph; I apprehend that on examination it will not be found more concluſive than that of Abraham.

Joſeph was himſelf ſold by the cruelty of his brethren to ſome Midianite merchants, who alſo ſold him to an officer of the King of Egypt. This indeed proves that the cuſtom of buying and ſelling Men was common in thoſe days; but it is very far from proving either that it was right in itſelf, that it could be defended by the Law of Common Juſtice, or that it was pleaſing to God. It might be, it undoubtedly was permitted: but many things were permitted by God, that cannot be ſaid to have had his approbation.

By a courſe of wonderful events Joſeph at length became the chief Governor in the kingdom of Egypt, and ſeems to have had the principal direction of all public affairs.

In the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream he ſaid, God ſheweth unto Pharaoh what he is about to do. There ſhall come ſeven years of great plenty, and after them ſhall ariſe ſeven years of famine: the famine ſhall be very grievous, and ſhall conſume the Land. Therefore let Pharaoh appoint officers over the Land, and gather the food of thoſe good years, and lay up corn under the

the hand of Pharaoh, and keep food in the cities, that the Land periſh not through the famine.

In this part of the character of Joſeph we ſee a provident and anxious care to relieve thoſe diſtreſſes of the people of Egypt, which by a divine and ſupernatural influence he knew they were about to ſuffer. Does this conduct bear any reſemblance to that of our modern dealers in Men?

The famine, with all its concomitant diſtreſſes, according to the prophecy of Joſeph, fell upon them. There was no bread in all the land, for the famine was very ſore; and both the land of Egypt, and the land of Canaan fainted.

In this grievous diſtreſs, Joſeph ſold to the people the Corn, which he had laid up in magazines in convenient places throughout the whole kingdom; which corn was the property of the King; and the money for which he ſold it he brought into Pharaoh's houſe. It was not of any private or perſonal advantage to Joſeph. Does this part bear any reſemblance to the conduct of modern dealers in Men? do they forego every thought of private advantage, and labour ſolely for the real good of thoſe who are immediately and perſonally concerned in their tranſactions?

When the people had ſpent their *money* in the purchaſe of Corn, they brought their *Cattle* to Joſeph, and he gave them bread in exchange for their Cattle. Was there any Cruelty, or any Injuſtice in this proceeding? Both the Men and the Cattle muſt have inſtantly periſhed without this neceſſary relief from Joſeph. The men not having money purchaſed Corn with their Cattle, which were become worthleſs to them, becauſe there was nothing left to ſuſtain them.

Another

Another year paſſed over, and their diſtreſſes continued. They apply again to Joſeph, and ſay there is not aught left, but our bodies and our lands. Wherefore ſhould we die before thine eyes? Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be at the ſervice of Pharaoh. And Joſeph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh. As for the people he removed them to Cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt even unto the other end thereof.

On this paſſage the following declaration is made: "Here is a whole nation of free and independent Africans, inhabiting the richeſt, the moſt populous, the moſt civilized part of Africa, or perhaps any other part of the Globe at that period, all made *Slaves* in one day, by a moſt explicit, deliberate, and formal contract."

On this declaration, which is entirely arbitrary and groundleſs, I ſhall only make one very ſhort obſervation: If it be falſe, it is of no force; if it be true, it is guilty of Suicide; it entirely deſtroys itſelf, and the concluſion intended to be drawn from it. For if there was this "moſt explicit, deliberate, and formal contract" between the Parties concerned, that is, between Joſeph and the People of Egypt, then the People of Egypt entered into a State of Servitude with their own conſent. But the caſe of the African Negroes is the very reverſe of this: there is no "explicit, deliberate, and formal contract" between the parties concerned: there is no conſent on the part of the Negroes; they are violently forced into Slavery, not only contrary to their conſent, but with all poſſible demonſtration of terror and abhorrence. To ſay the leaſt therefore, this argument

ment is nothing to Mr. H's purpoſe; but if it proves any thing, it proves againſt him.

The author then ſtates, that "Joſeph, at a moderate computation, purchaſed eight millions of perſons, with all their lands, for the price of one year's maintenance per head. That he *tranſported* them as *Slaves* from their *native Soil*, into a *diſtant country:* by which *expedient* he deprived them of every proſpect of ever re-enjoying their reſpective paternal eſtates, and the places of their nativity. That it is more than probable, that in the execution of ſo extenſive a plan, as removing ſo many millions of inhabitants of every age, ſex, condition, rank, infants at the breaſt, young children, old and decrepit people, infirm and delicate, from one end of the borders of ſo extenſive a country as Egypt, even unto the other end thereof, many muſt have inevitably periſhed in paſſing through the ſcorching ſands of a country deſolate with famine, and parched up as it were by an uninterrupted drought of ſix conſecutive years; notwithſtanding any wiſe regulations he might have made to accommodate them."

If Joſeph could really do all this, as ſtated by Mr. H. if he could unneceſſarily drive eight million perſons through theſe burning ſands, in which many muſt inevitably periſh, in order to make Slaves of thoſe who ſhould ſurvive their journey, and with a view alſo by this *expedient* to deprive them of every proſpect of ever reviſiting their native country——if Joſeph could indeed do all this——then I ſay that Joſeph was very well qualified to be the Captain of a Guinea man, or an Agent in the modern Slave Trade. But what if there be not a word of truth in all this doleful declamation?

declamation? I ſhall forbear all remarks upon this deſcription, that I may as far as poſſible avoid every thing that either may give offence, or may appear uncharitable: and I will proceed to what I apprehend to be a true and impartial ſtate of the caſe.

It is acknowledged that Joſeph ſaid unto the People, behold, I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh. And they ſaid, *Thou haſt ſaved our Lives*; let us find grace in the ſight of my Lord, and we will be Pharaoh's ſervants.

It is well known by all who are but moderately acquainted with the Spirit of the Language of Scripture, that the expreſſion of *Buying*, and *Selling* is frequently uſed in a Metaphorical ſenſe: and even the moſt High God is ſaid to *Buy*, and *Sell* his creatures. "He buyeth a People, when he interpoſeth in their favour, and employs all proper means to free them from ſuffering or any circumſtances of wretchedneſs, and to raiſe them up to a happy and proſperous ſtate. On the other hand, he ſells a people, when he withdraws his favour, ſuffers their enemies to prevail, or calamity or ruin to fall upon them *."

In this ſenſe Samuel tells the people, that when they forgat the Lord their God; he ſold them into the hand of Siſera, and into the hand of the Philiſtines, and into the hand of the King of Moab. And they ſaid, we have ſinned becauſe we have forſaken the Lord, and ſerved Baalim, but now deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, and we will *ſerve* thee.

They were in Scripture Language *bought*, when

* See Taylor on Rom. ch. ii. p. 7.

they

they were delivered from theſe enemies, and became the Servants of God. In a ſenſe not very diſſimilar the People of Egypt ſay, Let Pharaoh deliver us from this famine, our dreadful enemy, and we will be Pharaoh's ſervants.

In the ſame Metaphorical ſenſe, God is ſaid to have Bought the children of Iſrael, when he brought them *from* the Slavery of Egypt, and gave them Independance, Poſſeſſions, and *Liberty:* when he raiſed them from a ſtate of Miſery to a ſtate of Happineſs.

In the ſame ſenſe I apprehend that Joſeph ſays, I have *Bought* you: I have ſaved your Lives, I have reſcued you from the terrors of periſhing by famine; I have changed your miſery into happineſs. The people undoubtedly underſtood him in this ſenſe, for their anſwer was, *Thou haſt ſaved our lives*, let us find grace in thy ſight, and we will be Pharaoh's ſervants. Is there any thing in this that bears the leaſt reſemblance to the horrible circumſtances of the modern Slave Trade? I am neceſſitated to ſay it is not a fair compariſon.

But Joſeph removed the people to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof. And this is repreſented as if he drove eight millions of people, with all poſſible exaggeration of cruel circumſtances, ſix hundred miles, that they might never reviſit their native country, and this too through burning ſands in which many muſt have inevitably and miſerably periſhed.

The whole character of Joſeph entirely clears him from this horrible imputation. It is an invective of the utmoſt injuſtice upon a man, according to Mr. H. himſelf, "the moſt amiable,

perfectly finiſhed, exactly conformable to the model of the ſtricteſt virtue, and one of the compleateſt portraits of Righteouſneſs, and *Humanity*, that has ever been exhibited to the world in any ſtage of Religion."

The true matter of fact ſeems to be no more than this: Egypt was, according to Mr. H. the moſt populous county of Africa, perhaps of any other part of the Globe. Conſequently, being ſingularly fertile, we may ſuppoſe that there were cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof. That in theſe cities Joſeph erected his Magazines for the reception of the Corn to be laid up againſt the enſuing times of diſtreſs. For he adviſed Pharaoh to appoint officers throughout the Land, to gather the food of the good years, and to lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and to keep this food in theſe cities from one end of Egypt to the other end thereof, which food may be for ſtore for the Land, againſt the years of famine, that the Land periſh not through the famine. Accordingly when the Famine became very grievous in the land, when no ſuſtenance of any ſort was produced, when the country ſurrounding theſe Cities was abſolutely parched up, and the people ready to periſh—— then Joſeph directed the Inhabitants in the different parts of the Country, from one end of Egypt, even to the other end thereof, to remove themſelves and their families to the Cities in their neighbourhood, where he had laid up proviſions, and food for their ſupport.

Is it fair then to repreſent this amiable, and benevolent conduct, as driving them ſix hundred miles from their native place, through a country where

where many muſt periſh in the burning ſands, in order to make Slaves of the ſurvivors?

Another argument for this Slavery of the Egyptians is deduced from this circumſtance, that Pharaoh was poſſeſſed of all the land of Egypt, and that the people paid him ſome rent or tribute for it. What the nature of the conveyance of their Lands to Pharaoh was, whether abſolute or in the nature of a Mortgage with the equity of Redemption, I do not preſume to conjecture. They held their Lands, I will ſuppoſe, under Pharaoh; but whatſoever the nature of the tenure was, it does not appear to be ſuch as includes any idea of Slavery, in the modern ſenſe of that word.

When the time of the Famine was over, and the land was again in a condition to bring forth its encreaſe, Joſeph ſaid to the People, Lo! here is ſeed for you, and ye ſhall ſow the land, and it ſhall come to paſs in the encreaſe, that ye ſhall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts ſhall be your own. Does a Weſt-Indian planter ſay to his Negroe Slave, Give me a fifth part of the encreaſe of the Land, and four parts ſhall be your own? If not, the caſes are not ſimilar. But the payment of a fifth part appears to me ſo far from being a proof of ſevere ſlavery, as to be indeed a very moderate rent. I have heard Farmers, in this land of Liberty, ſpeak of Three Rents, one for the Lord, one for the culture of the Land, and one for the ſupport of their families. Theſe are terms upon Free Men much more ſevere than the tenure on which the Egyptians held their lands of Pharaoh. But farther, every proprietor of land, under our invaluable conſtitution of Political Liberty, pays in one

ſingle tax, excluſively of all other, one fifth part of his Property, in the Land, or as it is generally called, the King's Tax. If then the Egyptians are to be denominated Slaves when they paid no more than a fifth, what are we to be called who pay much more?

Upon a candid and impartial view of the tranſactions between Pharaoh and his people, on account of the famine, it does not appear, as Mr. H. aſſerts, that they were all in one day made Slaves, in the modern ſenſe of that word, "by a moſt explicit, deliberate, and formal contract;" and I am very confident that the conduct of Joſeph, when viewed with impartiality of mind, will not give the leaſt ſanction to the preſent moſt abominable practice of making Slaves.

From the tenor of Mr. H's preface it would be unfair to ſuppoſe him guilty of wilful miſrepreſentation: but from the well known opinions of thoſe Gentlemen with whom he is connected and to whom his work is dedicated, who probably, directly or indirectly, are all deeply intereſted in promoting the Traffick in Slaves; he may have contracted ſome prejudices which have inſenſibly warped his judgment in his repreſentation of Scriptural paſſages relative to this ſubject. And when the mind has once warmly entertained a favourite idea, it is the eaſieſt thing in the world to adapt paſſages of Scripture to the occaſion, and to give them the appearance of proof, and the reality of conviction. I have not the leaſt doubt but that many worthy Papiſts believe the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation with a ſincerity as firm and zealous as the Proteſtants reject it; and theſe contradictory opinions are derived from their different

ſerent acceptations of a plain and ſimple Propoſition, *This is my Body.* Many examples of contradictory opinions deduced from the ſame paſſage of Scripture might be ſhewn if there were occaſion; but this may be ſufficient. In all inſtances of this ſort a prejudice has ſeized the mind, and the opinion is not determined by Scripture, but Scripture is adapted to the Opinion.

It is acknowledged that the cuſtom of purchaſing and keeping Slaves was, in the times referred to, a general practice. That under the Moſaic diſpenſation in the books of Exodus and Leviticus, there are particular directions reſpecting both the conditions of purchaſe, and the treatment of Bond-ſervants. But all theſe appear to me as in the Nature of Permiſſions, not of Precepts, and not as Approbations of the Practice, but compliances with the preſſure of Local circumſtances. They are alſo of a particular nature, referring to particular times, and a particular ſtate of things, and cannot therefore authorize a *General* doctrine: they were directions ariſing from Local circumſtances of the Jews, exiſted only in the exiſtence of thoſe circumſtances, and were to end with them. They are not a part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation that has any manner of obligation upon Chriſtians; nor have they in this reſpect any more authority with us than if they were tranſcribed from the Koran or the Baghvat Gheta. They refer indeed to certain cuſtoms amongſt the Jews, and to the conduct required from them if they fell in with the general practice of the heathens who ſurrounded them. And if in compliance with theſe practices, they alſo *will* have their Slaves, they are then directed to purchaſe

them from theſe Heathens. And the words, "*Of them ſhall ye buy*," deſcribed as a poſitive command to buy Slaves, I apprehend, on the contrary, to be nothing more than a prohibitory clauſe, reſtraining them from purchaſing Bond-ſervants from amongſt their own people.

But Mr. H. by negligence, by overſight, by miſapprehenſion, (I know not what term to adopt, being unwilling to uſe any harſh expreſſion) on this part of his ſubject not only expreſsly contradicts the very paſſage of Scripture which he here preſſes into his ſervice, but (which has an unlucky appearance) in his quotation leaves out that part of the paſſage which he contradicts; in order, it muſt be ſuppoſed, to conceal his contradiction.

In his extract from Exodus (ſec. 2. p. 3.) he ſays, "It is ſingular enough, that the very firſt Law in the Scripture Language, enacted by God himſelf, ſhould be reſpecting the Slave Trade, and that alſo with the additional circumſtance of *not* reſtraining his people from purchaſing their own brethren, their own fleſh and blood." Now what is the direct import of this poſitive aſſertion? Is it not that God did *not* reſtrain his people from making Slaves of their Brethren? and in proof of this he quotes from Exodus (ch. xxi.) If thou buy an Hebrew ſervant, ſix years ſhall he ſerve, and in the ſeventh go free.

"Here, ſays Mr. H. it is evident that though the time of the Slavery of an Hebrew ſervant was limited, he was yet in the *ſtricteſt ſenſe* of the word a true and real Slave for the time; his maſter *bought*, and had an undoubted right and power to *ſell* him again."

To come to the point then, Mr. H. ſays, that God did *not* reſtrain his people from making *Slaves* of their brethren; and though the time of their Slavery was limited they were *Slaves* and might be *ſold* as ſuch.

The Scripture ſays, " If thy brother be poor, and be ſold unto thee, thou ſhalt *not* compel him to ſerve thee as a *Bond-ſervant*, but as an *hired ſervant*; and he ſhall *not* be ſold as a *Bond-ſervant*." But all this part, which is an expreſs contradiction to Mr. H's aſſertion, he paſſes over, and leaves out of his quotation of the Paſſage: with what view muſt be left to the Reader.

The whole paſſage is as follows: " If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be ſold unto thee, thou ſhalt not compel him to ſerve thee as a bond-ſervant; but as an hired ſervant; and as a ſojourner ſhall he be with thee, and ſhall ſerve thee unto the year of Jubilee. And then he ſhall depart from thee, he and his children with him, and ſhall return unto his own family, and unto the poſſeſſion of his fathers ſhall he return. For they are my ſervants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they ſhall not be ſold as Bondmen. Thou ſhalt not rule over him with rigour, but ſhalt fear thy God. Both thy Bondmen and thy Bondmaids which thou ſhalt have, ſhall be of the heathen round about you, of them ſhall ye buy." Which is as much as if it had been ſaid, If ye will fall in with this prevailing practice of purchaſing Bond-ſervants, at leaſt you ſhall not purchaſe them from amongſt your own people. A prohibition this which does not expreſs any approbation of the prevailing cuſtom; and indeed it is not a little

ſurpriſing that any one ſhould recur to this part of the Scripture as a Sanction for the modern mode of dealing in Slaves. I am inclined to think if Mr. H. had impartially conſidered the full force and operation of the *whole* paſſage juſt quoted, that he would not have advanced many things that hold a place in his treatiſe. But the moſt wonderful of his miſrepreſentations is with reſpect to the Gibeonites. who were conquered by Iſrael. When it is ſaid, that " the Lord diſcomfited them before Iſrael," any perſon whoſe mind was not warped by ſome favourite idea would conſtrue it, That God gave Iſrael the Victory. But Mr. H. explains it, " That the exertions of the divine power of the Almighty *for ſecuring to his people the new acquired property of Slaves* amongſt the Gibeonites were ſo wonderfully great, that he even fought in PERSON againſt the Invaders." And the words *in perſon* are printed in Italics, I ſuppoſe to encreaſe their emphaſis and make a ſtronger impreſſion of the aſtoniſhing doctrine here delivered.

I have formerly read in the great Grecian Bard, if I remember right, that a Deity could deſcend from heaven, and could in *Perſon* take part in human affrays, and even be wounded by a mortal hand. Fair Venus, Διος θυγατηρ Αφροδιτη, ſhrouding her hero in a cloud delivered him from impending danger. Vulcan alſo by the ſame artifice preſerved his favourite Idæus from deſtruction. But the fiery Diomede was ſurely the moſt daring of all earthly warriors, who notwithſtanding all Deityſhip, wounded in his rage the God of War in the belly, and, unfeeling Wretch! even the Goddeſs of Beauty in her ſnowy hand.

The

The raging chief in chace of Venus flies—
Thro' breaking ranks his furious courſe he bends,
And at the Goddeſs his broad Lance extends;
Thro' her bright veil the daring weapon drove,
Th' ambroſial veil which all the Graces wove:
Her ſnowy hand the razing ſteel profan'd,
And the tranſparent ſkin with crimſon ſtain'd.
From the clear vein a ſtream immortal flow'd;
Such ſtream as iſſues from a wounded God *.

POPE.

Virgil too, as appears from the ſpeech of Venus to Æneas, deſcribes the Deities as *Perſonally* interfering in the warlike engagements of Mortals.

Here where you ſee that rubbiſh, heaps confus'd,
Stones wrench'd from ſtones, and thick redounding ſmoke
Blended with clouds of Duſt, great Neptune ſhakes
The walls, and with his maſſy trident heaves
The city from its deep foundations. There
Relentleſs Juno, girt with ſteel, has ſeiz'd
The Scæan gates, and raging, from their ſhips

* —Ηφαιστος ερυτο, σαωσε δε νυκτι καλυψας.
—ενθ ἀπολοιτο αναξ ανδρων Αινειας
Ει μη αρ οξυ νοησε Διος θυγατηρ Αφροδιτη—
Η μεν εον φιλον υιον υπεξεφερεν πολεμοιο·
—— Κυπριν επωχετο νηλεϊ χαλκω
Ακρην ωτασε χειρα——
——— ρεε δ' αμβροτον αιμα θεοιο
Λιην αχθομαι ειλκος ο μοι βροτος ωτασεν ανηρ.

Hom. Il. 5. paſſim.

Calls

Calls her confederate forces.
Next (that way bend thine eyes) the lofty tow'rs
Tritonian Pallas has poſſeſs'd; there ſits
With her dire Gorgon, in a beamy cloud
Effulgent. Jove himſelf the Grecian troops
With courage and new ſtrength ſupplies; Himſelf
Excites the Gods againſt the Dardan arms *.

TRAP.

Now theſe things are all mighty well in Homer, and in Virgil; we read theſe deſcriptions with admiration, and with rapture; with an enthuſiaſm that reconciles us to the abſurdities of the Poetical fiction. But I muſt ſay it is not a little diſguſting, and ſeems too nearly allied to Impiety to transfer ſuch ideas and ſuch *Perſonal* interference in mortal affrays to the Almighty Father of Heaven.

As I have not any intention of writing a formal anſwer to Mr. H's elaborate work, I ſhall conclude theſe ſhort remarks with a few general conceſſions, and obſervations upon Mr. H's repreſentation of the Slave Trade, as permitted under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation: hoping that ſome one, who has ſufficient leiſure, and *can* think it worth while, will beſtow on this treatiſe a more accurate examination; and ſhew Mr. H. how, like ſome unſtable commentators on St. Paul, he alſo hath wreſted the Scriptures to a ſenſe different from their genuine ſignification, and to his own complete refutation. And not only this, but that the arbitrary and diſingenuous

* Hic ubi disjectas, &c. Æn. 2. 608.

poſitions

poſitions at the beginning of his book, which he delivers as Data, or unqueſtionable Truths, are manifeſt Sophiſms calculated to miſlead incautious readers; that they are contrary to all the legitimate rules of argumentation, deducing general concluſions from particular premiſes, turning meer connivances into permiſſions, permiſſions into commands, deſcribing matters hiſtorical as points of doctrine, invalidating the uſe of Reaſon in the examination of Scripture, and eradicating every principle on which is founded, and by which we defend the Proteſtant Perſuaſion. Theſe, and many more pernicious conſequences, might eaſily be ſhewn to be the natural reſult from the *Scriptural Reſearches*, which muſt be reprobated by every friend to Liberty, and the Natural Rights of Man.

I acknowledge indeed that in the Chriſtian Inſtitutes there is not any particular, preciſe, and expreſs prohibition of Slavery. That at the time the Chriſtian Diſpenſation was made known and offered to the world, the practice of keeping Slaves was very general. It was almoſt every where the eſtabliſhed mode of Public, and Domeſtic Œconomy. Had then the primitive teachers of Chriſtianity engaged themſelves in particularly demonſtrating the Iniquity of this practice, ſhewing its inconſiſtency with the Eſſential Principles and Fundamental Precepts of the Chriſtian Inſtitution, they would in great meaſure have defeated their own important purpoſe, the Converſion of the world. For the Revolution it muſt have occaſioned in human affairs would have been of ſo very extenſive a nature, and would have been the cauſe of ſuch commotions

tions and changes both in Public States and Private Families, that the very mention of it would probably have produced the general rejection of the Syſtem that propoſed it. For Deſpotiſm and Slavery were the principal features of the times. The firſt teachers of the Goſpel therefore performed their duty by a wiſer method. They ſaid nothing expreſsly prohibitory upon the ſubject of Slavery. They taught the Eſſential Principles and the Practical Doctrines of Chriſtianity. They conſidered the different ſubordinations of Men in civilized Society, and they inculcated the duties incumbent upon the members of each order. They ſhewed what was requiſite from Superiors to Inferiors, and from Inferiors to their Superiors. And in this part of their inſtructions they certainly did ſo far declare themſelves friends to the natural rights of man, as to adviſe thoſe of their diſciples who were in a ſtate of ſervitude, if they had a proper opportunity of gaining their Liberty, *to chooſe it rather*; nevertheleſs, if they had not ſuch opportunity, to conduct themſelves with patience, meekneſs, and ſubmiſſion to their Maſters. But I do not recollect that they any where utter a ſingle ſyllable in approbation of the Syſtem of Slavery: knowing it to be as ſubverſive of Common Juſtice and Humanity, as it was contradictory to the Eſſential Spirit, and characteriſtic Principles of Chriſtianity. And on this ground, as an Indiſpenſible Obligation upon all Chriſtians, they taught Univerſal and Diſintereſted Philanthropy, or Goodwill towards Men, and Love unfeigned to all the world; not only to friends, but even to enemies: they taught alſo the practical performance of every inſtance of benevolence

benevolence in our power; in the moſt perſuaſive manner they exhort their diſciples to be univerſally kind and tenderhearted, and to the utmoſt extent of their abilities to relieve miſery, and confer happineſs. Having done this they left theſe principles to work their own way upon the hearts of their diſciples by a gradual progreſs; well knowing that whereſoever they ſhould be received with Sincerity, the Practice of Slavery muſt be radically aboliſhed.

We may then, without reſerve, acknowledge the Generality, or if required, even the Univerſality of the Practice of making Slaves, and the ſilence of the Primitive Teachers of Chriſtianity upon this ſubject. But we cannot in all inſtances deduce the *Rectitude* from the *Univerſality* either of Practice or Opinion. The human race had not been in exiſtence many Generations before the wickedneſs of man, in reſpect of *Moral Depravity*, was very *great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt*; *For All Fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth.*

In about 450 years after the Flood the Practice of *Idolatry* was become Univerſal. And as before the Flood, Virtue and Piety were to be found only in One Family, ſo in the prevalence of Idolatry afterward, One man alone was found free from this Rebellion againſt God. But no one will attempt to juſtify either Immorality or Idolatry, from the Univerſality of the practice of either, in the times before or after the Flood.

The practice of Slavery has alſo been, without much exaggeration, Univerſal; and the wicked-

neſs

neſs ariſing from it not inferior to that occaſioned by the Univerſal practice either of Immorality or Idolatry. But, let it be remembered, that for the univerſal corruption of Man, in point of Morals, God deſtroyed the World: for univerſal Idolatry he doomed the Idolatrous Nations to Extirpation. For the univerſal wickedneſs of Slavery, the puniſhment of divine vengeance does not yet appear in its full Majeſty. Yet let us not reckon ourſelves ſecure, becauſe the Almighty hath not ſhewn *the lighting down of his arm with the flame of a devouring Fire.* For as this inhuman traffick is invariably attended with the total extinction of Religion, of good Morals, and common Humanity, ſhould it continue to be encouraged where its Enormity is known and acknowledged, this is ſuch deliberate and abſolute defection from the Authority of God, as (if we may judge from paſt proceedings) muſt ſometime bring upon us his ſevereſt diſpleaſure.

But having, as it were, wandered from my original purpoſe, I muſt now return and ſhew that there is not ſufficient reaſon to degrade the Negroes from their rank as Men becauſe they have no idea of *Civil Government*, no idea of *Moral Diſtinctions*, no idea of *Religion*, no idea of *a God*, or a *future ſtate of Exiſtence.* In order to do this with tolerable accuracy, it may not be improper to give a ſhort ſketch of the principle circumſtances relative to thoſe countries that are concerned in this traffick with the Europeans: by which it will alſo appear that there is not the leaſt foundation for theſe aſſertions, or for the hypocritical pretence that the ſituation of the Negoes is improved by being carried from their country even into Weſt

Indian

Indian Slavery. This account is taken from the concurring teſtimony of many authors upon this ſubject; the ſubſtance of which may be found drawn up with great labour and judgment in the Mod. Univ. Hiſt. of theſe Countries, and more conciſely in the Hiſtorical Account of Guinea, by the worthy and benevolent Benezet; who alſo refers to ſuch other modern authors, confirming each other's teſtimony, as had no intereſt to ſerve by making their reports more favourable than the truth: while the pecuniary intereſt of the Dealers in Human Blood are deeply concerned by defamatory deſcriptions and malicious falſehoods to miſrepreſent the circumſtances both of the country itſelf, and its native Inhabitants.

I will begin with the country about the River Senegal, and proceed Southwards to the Kingdom of Benguela, where, I believe, the Slave Trade ends.

No country in the world is better calculated for affording the comforts of Life to its Inhabitants, and with leſs ſolicitude and toil than Guinea. The natives are naturally a humane and ſociable people, with faculties as capable of improvement as thoſe of other men. Hence they might have lived happy had they not been diſturbed by the Europeans. The country is extremely fertile, abounds with Cattle, Poultry, Grain, and Fruits in very great variety, and all in great excellence. The earth yields all the year a freſh ſupply of food. Few cloaths are requiſite, and little art neceſſary either in making them or conſtructing their houſes. The gourds which grow over theſe afford an agreeable ſhade, and the fruit ſupplies the

the proprietor with an abundant ſtock of clean veſſels for moſt houſehold uſes.

Mr. Adanſon, in the account of his voyage to Senegal, ſpeaking of the Country and the Natives, ſays, Which way ſoever I turned mine eyes, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agreeable ſolitude, bounded on every ſide by charming Lanſcapes; the rural ſituation of Cottages in the midſt of Trees, the eaſe and indolence of the Negroes reclined under their ſhade, the ſimplicity of their dreſs and manners; the whole revived in my mind the idea of our firſt parents, and I ſeemed to contemplate the world in its primitive State.

The Grain, the Ivory, and Gold Coaſts, the Kingdom of Whidah, and the Slave Coaſt, from whence the greateſt numbers are inhumanly forced into Slavery, come next in order; and of theſe Smith and Boſman, and various other authors, ſpeak to the following purport.

This is one of the moſt delightful countries in the world. The great number and variety of beautiful, and ſhady trees, which ſeem planted in groves, the verdant fields every where cultivated, and no otherwiſe divided than by thoſe groves, and in ſome places a ſmall foot path, together with a great number of Villages, contribute to afford a moſt delightful proſpect; the whole country being a fine, eaſy, and almoſt imperceptible aſcent for the ſpace of forty or fifty miles from the Sea. The Country is well peopled, the natives kind, obliging, and induſtrious*.

* See Benezet paſſim. the Mod. Un. Hiſt. vol. 16. p. 395. and the different authors in Purches, and in a Collection of Voyages, &c. in 8 Vols. Folio.

" All

" All the Europeans indeed who have been in Whidah ſpeak of the Country with rapture, and extol it as the moſt beautiful in the world. The trees are ſtrait, and tall, and clear of all weeds and bruſh-wood. The verdure of the meadows, the richneſs of the Fields, the multitude of houſes, with dimpling ſtreams running down the declivity to the ſea, form the moſt delightful proſpect that fancy can picture to itſelf. One may compare the whole kingdom to a great city divided by Gardens, Lawns, and Groves inſtead of Streets, not a village in Whidah being a muſket ſhot diſtant from another. In a word, it is a true image of what the Poets ſing of the Elyſian Fields; and to ſpeak all its perfections, though the authority is undeniable, would appear to the reader as if we indulged a warm imagination at the expence of hiſtorical truth."

In the adjoining Country, the Town of Aſſem, or Great Ardrah, is thus deſcribed. It is a fine City, five or ſix leagues in circuit. Here the Royal Family have two palaces. It is entered by four Gates, oppoſite to each other. The walls are high, and thick, and as firm and compact as ſtone and lime. The Gates are defended by a deep ditch, and Draw Bridge. The ſtreets are kept in the utmoſt order, free from filth and every inconvenience. The palaces conſiſt of large courts with long wide Galleries, ſupported by beautiful Pillars finely ornamented. Under theſe piazzas the Natives have the privilege of walking. The buildings are two ſtories high, with long narrow ſlips of Windows, perfectly adapted to the Climate, as they occaſion a great draught of freſh air. The floors of all the apartments are covered

with ſilk carpets, or fine mats of an elegant taſte. In each was a ſingle armed chair, a variety of ſilk and brocade cuſhions, tables, folding ſcreens, Japan Cabinets, and cheſts of the fineſt China Porcelain. The windows were hung with Curtains of Taffety, and ſaſhed with white cloth, glazed in a manner that admitted the light, but excluded the night air. The gardens were ſpacious, and laid out in the moſt delicate taſte, in fine long walks, ſhaded by odoriferous trees, and lined on each ſide with ſhrubs and flowers, of a ſweet ſmell, and pleaſing colours. Nothing could be more beautiful than the fanciful graſs plats, joined by ſerpentine walks and groves, and refreſhed by the cooling murmur of a dimpling brook, which glided over ſhining Pebbles *. Theſe circumſtances muſt be referred to the State of this Country before its total Deſtruction by the King of Dahomay, in order to open his Paſſage to the Sea, and carry on the Slave Trade to greater advantage.

It is next to an impoſſibility, but that the Inhahitants of ſuch a country, and in ſuch circumſtances muſt have lived in eaſe and tranquillity. And it muſt occur to every one who has read Captain Cook's Voyages, how exactly many circumſtances in this deſcription correſpond with the account of the Society, and Friendly Iſlands, where the Natives enjoyed their eaſe, their indolence, and their happineſs: and from hence we may reaſonably infer that theſe poor Africans, under the ſame happy circumſtances of Climate muſt have lived equally contented, till their harmony, and all

* Boſman, Ep. 20. from Mod. Un. Hiſt. of the Slave Coaſt.

their

their happineſs was deſtroyed by the unjuſt and mercileſs ravages of European Merchants.

With reſpect to the Kingdoms of Benin, Loango, Congo, and Angola, as the circumſtances of climate are nearly the ſame, ſo there is not much difference either in the manner of life of the inhabitants, the turn of their opinions, or the productions of their reſpective countries.

They who ſay that the empire of Congo, ſpeaking comprehenſively, of all the kingdoms which it once contained, is burnt by the heat of the Sun, are altogether deceived: for the habitation there is exceeding good, the air beyond all credit temperate, the Winter like Autumn in the region of Rome. In theſe kingdoms are found great Quantities of Salt Petre; with great abundance of Gold, and precious Stones, and many mines of Silver. As to the Military Diſcipline of theſe people, they uſually fight on foot; they divide the Army into ſeveral Troops, fitting themſelves according to the ſituation of the field; their motions are directed by certain ſounds from the Capt. General, who is ſtationed in the midſt of the Army, and there gives the ſignal to join battle, to retire, to advance forward, to turn to the right or left, or perform any other warlike action: as amongſt us the pleaſure of the General is known by ſtrokes of the Drum, or ſounds of the Trumpet. Congo is in compaſs about 1685 miles *. The Kingdom of Angola in particular, is full of people beyond all credit. Sig. Odoardo Lopez did affirm and believe that it contained

* See Pigafetta Hiſt. of Congo in Collect. of Voyages; alſo Barbot, who has given a long and circumſtantial Account of this Country.

a million of fighting men. This kingdom alſo is very rich in mines of Silver, and moſt excellent Copper; and for other ſorts of Metals, there is more in this kingdom than in any other country whatſoever in the world. Fruitful it is in all kinds of Foods, and ſundry Sorts of Cattle, eſpecially great herds of Kine.

The argument holding forth that the ſituation of the Africans is made better, when removed from their own country, though into Slavery, is therefore not by any means to be admitted; becauſe in the firſt place the aſſertion is denied, being abſolutely falſe, and in the next, becauſe if it were true, it is indefenſible, the practice being founded in Injuſtice and Tyranny. For it is Injuſtice to carry any one againſt his own conſent into Slavery; and it is Tyranny to make this change in his condition by Violence. A reſpectable Writer ſays indeed, "It ſhould be fully known whether by abandoning the Traffick, we ſhould not abandon the cauſe of Humanity, and leave the Wretches, who are exported from Africa, to a worſe Lot in their own Country †." On ſuppoſition that this were true, I ſtill maintain that we have not the leaſt ſhadow of Right to make the intruſion into that Country and produce this forcible revolution in the circumſtances of the Natives, even with the view to make their ſituation, as we without ſufficient reaſon ſay, better. But will any one preſume to aſſert that there is a ſingle inſtance to be produced of a Liverpool Merchant, or a Guinea man Captain, forcibly tranſporting an African to America, with the

† Monthly Review.

ſincere

ſincere view to improve his ſituation? This ſort of Charity would be much a-kin to that of ſome Chriſtians, who move heaven and earth to make proſelytes, and improve the ſituation of their fellow creatures, by the unanſwerable argument of the Stake and Faggot. But ſuppoſe their condition to be in their own country very wretched, ſuppoſe them to be as ſavage as you pleaſe—who hath made them ſo? it appears from the authorities juſt cited, and from many others that might be produced, that before theſe inroads of the Europeans, they were a happy people, in a happy country: that they lived in eaſe and primitive ſimplicity, were kind, obliging, and induſtrious; and now by our nefarious practices are rendered miſerable and ſavage. But is it not Cruelty inexpreſſible, firſt to make a people Savage, and then truly, under pretence of Charity to make them Slaves for being Savages?

Indeed, in a late publication in favour of the Slave Trade, an attempt is made to invalidate the concluſion that would naturally follow from the preceding obſervation; but it ought to be noticed, that this Advocate is himſelf perſonally engaged as an Officer in this Traffick, and may therefore, without breach of Charity, be ſuppoſed not entirely free from prejudice. The ſentiments of Lieutenant Matthews, on the preſent popular endeavours for the Abolition of the Negroe Slavery may be reduced to a few plain Propoſitions.

1. That it does not appear that this intercourſe, which has ſo long ſubſiſted between the Africans and the Europeans, has made any change in their cuſtoms or manners, except giving them a reliſh

for Society, and the Enjoyments of the Luxuries of Life.

2. That he has endeavoured to diſcover whether the Natives of Africa, dealers in Slaves, were excited to make war upon each other, by the Europeans; and that he is free to declare that this never fell under his obſervation.

3. That from the great number of Slaves annually exported one ſhould be led to imagine that the Country would be depopulated, inſtead of which, no diminution of their number is perceived.

4. That with reſpect to kidnapping, he can only ſay that he never heard of ſuch a practice.

5. That if the Slave Trade was aboliſhed by every nation in Europe, it would not ceaſe in Africa; nor would the abolition in any meaſure add to the happineſs of the natives.

6. That the Troops of the Emperor of Morocco are compoſed of Black Slaves, purchaſed, &c. and that probably other deſpotic princes compoſe their armies in the ſame manner.

7. That Slaves are the medium of Coin for the purchaſe of Neceſſaries.

8. That the Slave Trade is probably permitted by Providence, as a means to preſerve Lives, &c.

1. The term African in this place is rather too comprehenſive to be admitted into the Argument. It comprehends both the Dealer in Slaves, and the Slaves themſelves, and therefore includes a fallacy. The Queſtion is only concerning the latter. Will Mr. M. ſay, that with reſpect to theſe, the forcing them from their families, their friends, their country, and dragging them to inſupportable labour, and ſervitude, to chains, to ſcourges,

ſcourges, to tortures and death, produces no change in their condition, but that of giving them a reliſh for Society, and the Luxuries of Life? It is the firſt time of hearing Servitude, Chains, and Scourges enumerated among our Luxuries. And as to the Comfort of Society under ſuch circumſtances of miſery, though I have formerly heard of

Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris,

yet I have always thought it an unjuſtifiable ſentiment, and utterly void of benevolence.

2. and 3. From undeniable teſtimony it has been repeatedly proved, that Wars without number have been excited by the Europeans for the Sole purpoſe of procuring Slaves, and Mr. M's ignorance of the Fact does not invalidate the Teſtimony. It has alſo been fully proved, that many Countries by nature beautiful and fertile to the higheſt degree, and before the Slave Traffick exceeding populous, are now by that Traffick ſtript of their Inhabitants, and rendered ſcenes of abſolute deſolation *. If Mr. M. ſpeaks of Countries where the Slave Trade is not practiſed, the argument is not to the purpoſe, if where it is, the aſſertion is not true.

4. If direct evidence of any fact is produced in a Court of Juſtice, will any one's bare aſſertion, that he never heard of the fact, ſet aſide the poſitive evidence? The enormity of kidnapping (as it is called) has been proved over and over again in numberleſs horrible inſtances. Not only the common people have ſuffered in this way, but

* See Clarkſon, Ch. 10. and Boſman, paſſim.

Kings have been bound in chains, and nobles with links of Iron. Witneſs, the well known Story of Oronoko, and that, inſtanced in Mr. Clarkſon's Eſſay, p. 89, than which there never was a more highminded example of dignified and deſperate reſolution.

5. Perhaps it would not. But on ſuppoſition that this Abolition had taken place in Africa, can Mr. Matthews really imagine that it would not in any meaſure add to the happineſs of the Natives? can he really ſee no difference between being a Slave and being Free?

6. The Emperor of Morocco's army is formed by purchaſing Children, Infants from Guinea, who are immediately deſtined to the Military Service. They are brought from the place of their birth ſo very young, that they have no idea of Native Soil, friends, or relations, or any home other than in the ſervice in which they are educated. Their Quarters, the Garriſons, the Camps of the Emperor are their Home. And though by the deſpotic conſtitution of the Country they, like all his other ſubjects, are Slaves, yet they are not ſuch under the ſame circumſtances with thoſe unhappy creatures, who are forced by the European traders into the Miſeries of Weſt Indian Slavery; nor will the two ſituations admit of Compariſon. But ſuppoſe the Emperor of Morocco, even to *deal* in Slaves, will his practices juſtify ſimilar practices in England? The Emperor of Morocco practiſes the Rites of Mohamediſm; has a plurality of Wives; ſtrikes off the Heads of his Nobles at his pleaſure; and does many other things, beſide keeping Slaves, that would not be well reliſhed in England. The Queſtion

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is not whether the Emperor of Morocco does ſo or ſo, but whether what he does be right, and juſtifiable. And as to the other Deſpotic Princes, many of them, beſide dealing in Slaves, practiſe all the dreadful cuſtoms of the moſt abſurd, and barbarous idolatry. They ſacrifice human Victims; they broil and eat their Priſoners. And if the example of theſe Deſpotic Princes in the Slave Traffick, merely as ſuch, without any further conſideration, will juſtify the Engliſh in doing the ſame, the argument is equally concluſive in all the other inſtances of their conduct.

7. If Mr. M. means that Slaves are the only medium of Coin for the purchaſe of Neceſſaries, his aſſertion is not true; and if he allows that other materials are uſed in this purchaſe, it is nothing to his purpoſe. For the purchaſe of thoſe ſmall articles that are generally underſtood by Neceſſaries, the Natives have what anſwers to pieces of Coin of very ſmall value. They caſt their Gold duſt into Fetiches, which they cut into little pieces, the value of which they know to a ſurpriſing degree of Preciſion, and with theſe they purchaſe what is to be underſtood by Neceſſaries. Beſide theſe they make uſe of Cowries, or ſmall ſhells of a particular ſort, on all theſe occaſions. Why theſe circumſtances were concealed by Mr. M. muſt be left to the reader to determine.

8. The ways of Providence I do not preſume to ſcrutinize: but apprehend that, if God exerted his Power to preſerve Life, and prevent Cruelty, he would ſcarcely do it by a method more cruel than Death itſelf.

In ſhort, the attempt of Mr. M. to juſtify the Slave Trade, as appears by his ſentiments on the ſubject,

ſubject, ſeems to be indeed very defective, and ineffectual, whether we conſider the conſequences of this Traffick with reſpect to the unhappy creatures themſelves, or to the Countries from which they are forced into this barbarous ſervitude.

Thoſe delightful regions from which the natives are forcibly carried into Slavery extend in length about three thouſand four hundred miles, from the River Senegal to the kingdom of Angola, where the Slave Trade ends. From whence to the Cape of Good Hope, the country is peopled by the Caffres and Hottentots, who have never been concerned, as I am informed, in ſelling Slaves. So the European dealer in Human Blood is engaged in a Traffick diſdained even by Caffres and Hottentots.

The River Senegal is navigable more than a thouſand miles. The River Gambia about three hundred miles to the South of it is navigable ſix hundred miles into the country. And, Brue, a French Factor, who lived ſixteen years in it, deſcribes it as very fruitful near the Sea, and the farther you go inland, as being ſtill more fruitful and better cultivated. Mr. Smith who was ſent thither in 1726 by the African Company, deſcribes the country as very pleaſant and fruitful; proviſions of all ſorts being in great plenty, and exceedingly cheap. Mr. Moor, ſent by the ſame company about 1735, reſided there five years, and confirms theſe accounts of the fertility of the Country. The parts lying upon and between theſe rivers is of very great extent, and is inhabited principally by three Negroe Nations known by the names of Ialofs, Pholeys. and Mandingos,

Mandingos, and the general circumſtances of the nature and fertility of their countries, as alſo of all the kingdoms to the Southern extremity of Angola, plainly ſhew the falſhood of the pretence that the ſituation of the Natives is made better by removing them into the Weſt Indies, though in the condition of Slavery. For at home they lived in eaſe and indolence, and a ſort of luxurious temperance; every one under the ſhade of his own vine and Fig-tree quietly poſſeſſing his own property, and in general enjoying the ſweets of Liberty and the Rights of Humanity.

But it is aſſerted, that the Negroes are not Men becauſe it is not poſſible to give them any idea of a Civil Government. With what degree of Truth this raſh aſſertion is made, will immediately appear.

The country of the Ialofs, the middle country between the Senegal and Gambia is governed by a King. This King has under him ſeveral Miniſters of State, who aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of Juſtice. Alſo a chief Judge, who goes his circuits to hear complaints and determine controverſies. He has alſo a chief Treaſurer, and a Vice-roy, whoſe duty it is to enquire into the behaviour of inferior Magiſtrates; and various ſubordinate officers in different departments of Civil Adminiſtration. In different nations too there are examples of the different forms of Civil Government, from abſolute Monarchy to true Democracy. In ſome the Monarchy is hereditary, though not in the European mode, as it ſometimes paſſes to the Nephew in preference to the Son. In others it is elective: and in the latter, though the perſon elected be of the loweſt order,

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he immediately aſſumes a deſpotic power, which is implicitly obeyed. At Camina, a very populous town, between the kingdoms of Cayor and Baool, is an independent Commonwealth, which hath always withſtood, by the bravery of its people, and their fondneſs for Liberty, the attempts of both thoſe Kings made at ſeveral times to ſubdue it.

In ſhort, there are to be found in theſe countries all thoſe circumſtances of Political Eſtabliſhment which in Europe would be thought a ſufficient foundation for the appellation of a Civil Government: the Ceremonials of a Royal Coronation, the Requiſition of an Oath from the King to obſerve the Laws, and to promote the happineſs of his people: the appointment of Civil Governors over the Provinces, into which the Kingdom is divided: a ſelect Council compoſed of the moſt experienced Stateſmen and Warriors, in which the determinations for Peace or War, and other important matters of States are made according to the opinions of the Majority. Subordination alſo of Officers in the departments of War, of Law, and of Religion; and places of diſtinction and honour about the Court, and the Perſon of the King. And though to ſome it may appear rather ridiculous to ſpeak, as ſome very reſpectable authors have done, of Lords and Ladies of the Bedchamber, when the palace, perhaps, in ſome circumſtances, was not ſuperior to a common cottage in England, and the Bed no better than a fine mat upon the floor; yet we ſhould call to mind that there have been Kings, and Kings of great power too in this Country, the walls of whoſe habitations were but a ſort of Wicker

Wicker Work, and their floors of clay, except that on days of entertainment and luxury they might be ſtrewed over with Ruſhes.

Not only in matters of real conſequence in the departments of State, of Law, and of Religion, but even in affairs of meer ceremony have the Negroe Kings ſometimes given proofs of Sagacity, and knowledge of Mankind and of Civil Ordinations, that ſet them at leaſt upon an equality with the European Sovereigns.

When the Princes of the German Empire were convened and aſſembled on ſome very important occaſion, it could not be ſettled who ſhould firſt enter, or take the moſt diſtinguiſhed place in the Aulic Chamber; and this mighty matter of Precedence, being undetermined, put an entire ſtop to all the real and important buſineſs for which they were aſſembled. Till an Edifice was at laſt erected of a Circular Form, with ſeveral doors into it, through which theſe Wiſe Princes might have entrance as it happened, and take their places accordingly. A Negroe Prince upon the ſame ſubject, ſhewed more good ſenſe and ſpirit than all the Princes of the German Empire aſſembled together in ſolemn convention.

In the kingdom of Ardrah, a Dutch factor, and a French officer had a quarrel about the right of precedence. Matters were carried ſo far that the Frenchman declared he would run the Dutchman through the body, if he preſumed to go before him. To prevent extremities, the Prince Royal conducted them to an audience before the King to make their remonſtrances, one on his right hand, the other on his left. The parties grew warm. The King commanded ſilence, and ſpoke

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to this effect: "Addreſs yourſelves to your Maſters; let them regulate the precedence, and rights of their ſervants: it doth not become me, who am ignorant of their circumſtances and power. I therefore forbid all diſputes, till you receive the deciſion of your ſuperiors. In my dominions you are both but Traders; and it would better become you to vie in induſtry, diligence, and honeſty, than in oſtentation and vanity." The equity and ſtrong ſenſe of the Royal reproof enforced a compliance: and ſeems a plain demonſtration that Negroes are capable of Civil Government.

The preceding obſervations are taken from Barbot and Boſman, and various other authors agreeing in the ſame point of evidence, as may be ſeen in the Collection before referred to, and particularly in the Mod. Univ. Hiſtory of theſe kingdoms.

What changes may have been made ſince the time of Barbot, by the devaſtations occaſioned by the European Factors, I do not exactly know; but undoubted they are horrible to the laſt degree. Several countries by nature the moſt delightful, and well peopled, are now nearly depopulated, and turned into deſarts: their Government overturned, their inhabitants murthered, or forced into Slavery: the few who remain, corrupted by our vile machinations, are rendered Savage. But this cannot be admitted as an argument againſt them or their country; it is only a proof of our injuſtice and barbarity: and it is needleſs to ſay any thing more in anſwer to the aſperſion that they are *Naturally* incapable of every idea of Civil Government.

This very ſhort ſtate even of their Civil Police,

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is alſo a full anſwer to the malicious calumny that they have no notion of Moral Diſtinctions. For if that were the caſe, and all actions were eſteemed equal, how comes it to paſs that they have the ſolemnities of trial, and Judges to puniſh for offences? Their ideas of Moral rectitude may be very different from our notions on that ſubject, and their Judicial Deciſions may, in many inſtances, not be agreeable either to Natural Juſtice or improved Reaſon: but while there is among them a different eſtimation of Actions, there muſt be an idea of Moral Diſtinctions. Permit me to produce only one inſtance in which, with reſpect both to Moral Rectitude and the true Intereſt of Civil Society, they ſeem ſuperior to ſome of the poliſhed nations of Europe, I mean their high opinion of the Matrimonial engagement. In ſome countries the bare ſuſpicion of Infidelity was attended with great diſgrace: if any thing like proof was produced, the woman was baniſhed, and left to provide for herſelf as well as ſhe could in ſome diſtant region, and the whole property of the man was forfeited to the Huſband. On actual diſcovery, both the offending parties were inſtantly put to death. While in our very *refined* nation, after a full proof and gentle proceſs through ſome meer forms of Law, by a preconcerted ſcheme, the Adultereſs is married to her Gallant, and both ſtand as high as ever in our pliant virtue and faſhionable honour.

As to their Natural Incapacity for receiving Religious ideas, the aſſertion is entirely without foundation. Great numbers of the Negroes are Mahometans, and are ſingularly regular in the performance of their religious duties. And as the

the leading Principle of the Mahometans is, that there is *only* one Supreme God, and, that Mahomet is his Prophet, how erroneous ſoever in ſome particulars their faith may be, yet this is undoubtedly true, that Negroes, being Mahometans, are capable of true Notions of God and Religion. True notions of God they have: and with reſpect to erroneous and inferior articles of Faith, whereſoever theſe exiſt, the Doctrines of Truth may poſſibly be ſubſtituted in their ſtead. For to receive falſe Doctrines proves the Natural capacity to receive thoſe that are true. I have not much to ſay in defence of the Mahometan Paradiſe; at the time of its inſtitution it certainly was a very politic ſcheme; but the Negroes, who are Mahometans, and believe in it, have undoubtedly an idea, though a crude one, of a future State of Exiſtence: the charge therefore of *Natural* incapacity in this reſpect is utterly falſe and groundleſs. The belief of *Senſual* pleaſures to be enjoyed in a future and *Spiritual* ſtate of Exiſtence is doubtleſs a great abſurdity, and a pernicious error, nevertheleſs it proves the Negroes to be as capable of receiving the idea of a future ſtate of exiſtence as we ourſelves are, who are bleſſed with the true doctrine of a Reſurrection, and a Future Life. And what indeed are thoſe inſtances of affection for departed friends, expreſſed at every funeral, by placing near, or in their graves, their Arms, their houſhold Utenſils, and proviſions for their ſupport in the other world, but ſo many direct proofs of this belief, even in the countries buried in profound ignorance.

The Whidah Negroes, who, I ſuppoſe, have not

not been inſtructed in the Mahometan Religion, have yet an idea of the True God: aſcribing to him the Attributes of Almighty Power, and Omnipreſence: but God, they ſay, is too high to condeſcend to think of Mankind: wherefore he commits the Government of this world to thoſe inferior Deities (the Fetiches) which they worſhip. "The Religion of this Country indeed is ſo fraught with good ſenſe and abſurdity that we are at a loſs how to deſcribe it. The Fetiche is worſhipped here as in all the other countries on the weſtern coaſt of Africa. Theſe, however, they conſider in a ſubaltern capacity, acting as Mediators between Men, and the Great God, of whom their ideas are leſs groſs, and unworthy. To God they aſcribe the attributes of Omniſcience, Omnipreſence, Omnipotence, and Inviſibility. They believe that he actuates every thing, and governs the world by his Providence*." This account by Boſman, and various other writers of different times, is confirmed by Smith, who ſays, That that the Natives not only believe that there is One True God, the author of them, and of all things, but that they have alſo ſome apprehenſion of a Future State: that almoſt every Village has a Grove, or public place of Worſhip, to which the principal inhabitants on a *ſet day* reſort to make their offerings. Amongſt theſe people alſo the ſame barbarous Ceremonies are obſerved as in the ſurrounding nations †.

In general then the funeral Ceremonies throughout the various kingdoms upon the Grain, the Ivory, the Gold, and Slave Coaſts, the kingdoms

* Mod. Un. Hiſt. † See Benezet.

of Benin, Loango, Congo, and Angola, where they are not Mahometans or Chriſtians, are pretty much the ſame, and tend to the ſame point of Evidence. Human Victims are ſacrificed in proportion to the rank of the deceaſed: generally two of his Wives, and a number of Slaves. Theſe, we are informed from many correſponding authorities, are buried with their maſters, not only to attend them in the other life, but likewiſe to bear witneſs, when they come to appear before the *Great Monarch*, or God of the other world, how they behaved in this: which, if true, plainly proves not only their belief of a Supreme Deity, and a future ſtate of exiſtence, but alſo a future Judgment, and a State of Retribution. And in order that this idea of a State of Retribution may be compleat, beſide the Supreme Deity to reward the Good, they have alſo a Supreme Monarch of the Infernal Regions, or a Devil, it muſt be ſuppoſed, to receive and puniſh thoſe who have behaved improperly in this world. Their Devil indeed differs greatly in point of Age, Size, and Complexion from the Devil of the Europeans. When Monſ. D'Elbee was introduced by the High-Prieſt of Ardrah to the preſence of his Wives, he obſerved the figure of a child in the corner of the Gallery, well caſt and painted White. On enquiry, whoſe figure it was, the High Prieſt anſwered it was the Devil's. The French Commodore ſaid, the Devil is not White. That is your miſtake, anſwered the High Prieſt, for I can aſſure you that he is very White, having often ſeen, and converſed with him. I believe they did not ſettle this point of Theological Controverſy. But all the good people who have ſeen

and

and converſed with our Devil aſſure us, that he is advanced in age, tall in his perſon, and of a very black complexion. Yet it muſt be allowed that in the nature of things, and by parity of Reaſon, the Blacks have as good Authority to make their Devil White, as the White men have to make their Devil Black.

I therefore hope that by this time the raſh aſſertion that Negroes are not of the *Human Race*, that they are not capable of receiving any idea of *Civil Government*, of *Moral Diſtinctions*, of *Religion*, of a *God*, or a *Future State* of Exiſtence, may appear to be entirely without foundation.

It would not have been worth while to have gone even thus far into an anſwer, were not theſe opinions maintained, and at this time induſtriouſly propagated by many perſons of different ranks, and of great conſequence in this Land of Science and Liberty. With what view this is done, muſt be left to their own conſcience, and to God. I preſume not to judge the heart of Man.

From the regions before mentioned, by Nature (under Providence) the ſeat of delight, of innocence and happineſs, are the devoted natives in great numbers torn by every act of violence and inhumanity, to ſuffer in the moſt extreme degree the miſeries of Slavery, Torture, and Death.

Before the tribunal of God muſt an account be given for more than a hundred thouſand innocent men annually and violently forced from their native Land, and ſeparated for ever from the tender connection with relations and friends, and every endearment of happy and domeſtic life. In this account will the Engliſh Nation ſtand

foremoſt; and eminently guilty. Dreadful Pre-eminence*!

Elizabeth, about the thirtieth year of her reign, granted Patents for carrying on this abominable African Traffick from the north part of the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leona; an immenſe tract of Country! Throughout theſe regions, and much farther, even to the extent of three thouſand four hundred miles, do the Engliſh take the liberty, under the ſanction of various national laws, to deal in Human Blood; to perpetrate every act of atrocious cruelty that can freeze with horror the heart endued with a ſpark of Humanity.

Amongſt the early perpetrators of theſe horrid barbarities we read the celebrated names of Hawkins and Drake; who forcibly carried off many of the innocent natives, and ſold them for Slaves to the Spaniſh ſettlers in America. And this too notwithſtanding that Elizabeth (as is ſaid) when Hawkins returned from his firſt Voyage, expreſſly prohibited him from carrying off the Negroes without their free conſent; ſaying, it would be

* The number of Negroe Slaves bartered for in one year on the coaſt of Africa, from Cape Blancho to Rio Congo, by the different European Nations is, as we are informed by a reſpectable merchant once engaged in the Traffick, nearly as follows: Great Britain, 53,000; America, 6,300; France, 23,500; Holland, 11,500; Portugal, 8,700; Denmark, 1,200. (Public Papers) Mr. Clarkſon goes much farther. He calculates, and ſeems fairly to prove his calculation, that taking into the account the numbers that are ſlain in the wars engaged in merely to procure Slaves, the numbers of the Captives that periſh on their journeys to the Ships, the numbers that are killed by cruel uſage on Shipboard, the numbers of Sailors that periſh, the numbers that are deſtroyed in the Plantations, not leſs than one hundred thouſand *murthers* are perpetrated every year—Such are the effects of the Slave Trade, proſecuted by *Chriſtians*, and receiving the ſanction of their Laws!

 deteſtable,

deteſtable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven *.

At firſt the method was to practiſe the more gentle arts of fraud and circumvention. Under the ſhew of friendſhip, and the pretence of profitable traffick the poor creatures were enticed to bring their Gold, and other precious articles of merchandize on Shipboard; and there, oh! horrid profanation of public Faith! were robbed of their property, loaded with chains, and delivered over to perpetual Slavery.

This conduct gave an alarm, and made the Natives diſtruſtful of the Strangers, who then proceeded to the mode of plunder by open violence. They landed in force, made the inhabitants of the Country priſoners, and deſpoiled them of their Goods. They eſtabliſhed themſelves; they built Forts, and left their Agents. The buſineſs of theſe Miſcreants is to foment, by every wicked art, diviſions among the Natives. They inflame their paſſions by ſupplying them with ſpirituous Liquors. They engage them in perpetual quarrels, and thus at an eaſy price, which party ſoever is victorious, poſſeſs themſelves of all who are made priſoners in theſe wars, thus fabricated by our treachery †. In this manner have we proceeded, and by this, and various other modes of Injuſtice, do we at length plunder the country of its inhabitants to the amount of one hundred thouſand perſons every year ‖.

* See the ch. 5. of Benezet, whoſe Hiſt. of Guinea I recommend to every advocate for the Rights of Humanity.

† On this part of the ſubject ſee Mr. Clarkſon's excellent Prize Eſſay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species; particularly the 10th ch.

‖ See Anderſon on Trade and Commerce.

When it is conſidered that of this great number *not one* becomes *willingly* a Slave; that at the very idea ſome fall diſtracted with horror, and others deſtroy themſelves from deſpair, and that many thouſands every year cruelly and miſerably periſh——how enormous appears the guilt of thoſe who perſonally perpetrate theſe crimes, of thoſe alſo who defend, and of thoſe who give Legal Sanction to theſe Iniquities!

" How dreadful, ſays Mr. Benezet, is this Slave Trade, whereby many thouſands of our fellow creatures, free by nature, endued with the ſame rational faculties, and called to be heirs of the ſame ſalvation with us, are, truly and properly ſpeaking, murthered every year! for it is not neceſſary, in order to convict a man of Murther, to make it appear that he had an *Intention* to commit Murther. Whoever does by unjuſt force or violence deprive another of his Liberty, and while he hath him in his power continues ſo to oppreſs him by cruel treatment, as eventually to occaſion his death, is actually guilty of Murther." To which let me add, That in Murther there are no *Acceſſories*. All who are any way aiding or abetting, before or after, are *Principals*.

" Where a priſoner (*legally confined*) dieth by dureſs of the Goaler, the Law implies Malice, by reaſon of the Cruelty," and malicious homicide is Murther. Surely then the argument applies at leaſt with equal force againſt him who hath no juſtifiable authority, as againſt an officer legally appointed, but by exceeding the limits of his authority being the cauſe of Death. Farther. " If a man by harſh and unkind uſage put another into ſuch a paſſion of grief, or fear, that the party either

either die ſuddenly, or contract ſome diſeaſe where-of he dies, though in a human judicature it does not come under the judgment of Felony, yet this is *Murther* in the ſight of God." To this purpoſe declare ſeveral of our Lawyers of high reputation.

By the iniquitous practices of the European Factors, too truly ſpeaking Malefactors, are theſe beautiful and fertile countries, once full of inhabitants, now turned into a deſolate deſart. One author deſcribes them as reduced to a moſt miſerable condition by being ſtripped of their inhabitants. Frequently, ſays he, ſpeaking of the country near the Gold and Slave Coaſt, when paſſing through it before the laſt wars, I have ſeen it abound with fine well-built towns, enriched with vaſt quantities of corn, cattle, palm wine, and oil. The inhabitants all applying themſelves to agriculture, ſome ſowing corn, others preſſing oil, or drawing wine from the Palm-trees. But though formerly ſo powerful and populous, it is at preſent ſo drained of its inhabitants as to be entirely ruined; inſomuch that there do not remain ſufficient to till the Country *.

In conſequence of this depopulation near the ſea, the ravages committed by the Slave merchants are extended over the internal parts of Africa, and to ſuch a diſtance, that in the Cargoes (as they are called) of men chained and driven like brute beaſts, ſometimes are found Aſiatic Blacks mixed with the African Negroes.

Theſe poor creatures are driven a journey, ſometimes of ſeveral months; and to ſecure them they are tied together by the neck, at about a

* Boſman.

yard distant from each other, thirty or forty in a string, each with a load of merchandize upon his head. When arrived at the place of their destination they are put into prison together; then all brought out and by the Surgeons thoroughly examined, naked, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. The unfortunate persons who are approved, are then branded with a burning iron, and returned to prison, till they are forced on board the ships.

Another method of securing them practised by these inhuman merchants, is to place the right hand of each upon a log of wood, and fasten it there by a staple fitted to the wrist, and driven into the wood, which being of an enormous weight they are necessitated to support sometimes with the other hand and sometimes to bear it upon the head *.

In a journal of a Liverpool vessel it is recorded, that information had been received on board the ship, "*that the people were gone to war within land, for Prisoners*," in hopes of which they staid. "*That four towns were burnt, and the Slaves expected. That they saw each night Towns burning, but heard that the inland Negroes were victorious*, so that it is feared this War will be unsuccessful."

In another journal, an agent applies to some King in the Country for Slaves. The King says he has not yet been successful, having been twice repulsed in attempting *to break up two towns*; but he hoped for better luck in a Battle. The battle was fought, and four thousand five hundred men slain on the spot.

* See Clarkson, p. 30.

When

When on Shipboard, the miſery and deſperation of theſe poor creatures ariſes to ſuch a height, that many go Mad, many drown themſelves, many ſtarve themſelves to death *.

Captain Phillips was adviſed to cut off the Legs and Arms of ſome of them, *as other Captains had done*, to terrify the reſt, and thus to *reconcile* them to their Slavery. But this he refuſed to do. In a ſtate of ſincere repentance for having been concerned in this iniquitous traffick, he makes a public confeſſion to the following purport. That in the year 1749 he ſailed from Liverpool to the coaſt of Guinea; went up into the inland country, and had a conference with a Negroe King, concerning the purchaſe of Slaves. The next day was appointed for viewing them, when he found about two hundred confined in one place. But here, ſays he, "How ſhall I relate the affecting ſight I there beheld! how can I ſufficiently deſcribe the ſilent ſorrow which appeared in the countenance of the afflicted father, the painful anguiſh of the tender mother, expecting to be for ever ſeparated from their offſpring: the diſtreſſed maid wringing her hands in preſage of her future wretchedneſs, and the general cry of the innocent from a dreadful apprehenſion of the perpetual ſlavery to which they were doomed! Under a ſenſe of my offence to God, in the perſons of theſe his creatures, (for I purchaſed eleven) I make this confeſſion, hoping to excite an abhorrence of the deteſtable practice of trading in our fellow creatures, and in ſome meaſure to

* See Fauconbridge, and ſeveral other accounts lately publiſhed concerned theſe melancholy and truly tragical events.

atone

atone for my engaging in this wicked traffick, and neglecting my duty as a Chriſtian *."

As a ſupplement to this, and as abſolute authority upon the point, I beg leave to recommend a Pamphlet written by the Rev. Mr. Newton, once himſelf concerned as Captain Phillips was in this buſineſs, but now a very worthy, learned, and exemplary Divine of the Church of England.

As theſe poor creatures are forcibly dragged from their home, and their families, and thus unjuſtly and cruelly doomed to confinement and miſery, it is very natural, and very juſtifiable in them by any means in their power to attempt the recovery of their liberty, even by the death of their Oppreſſors. On board the Ship of one Harding this attempt was made by ſome men and women Slaves, but failed. Harding ſentenced ſome to a cruel death, making them firſt eat the heart and liver of one of thoſe he had killed. The women he hoiſted by the thumbs, whipped, and ſlaſhed with knives till they died ‡. Volumes of ſimilar enormities might be produced——but I feel myſelf unable to tranſcribe any more, and muſt appeal to the heart, and conſcience of every impartial man to decide whether ſuch proceedings ought in any country, directly or indirectly, to receive the leaſt degree of ſupport.

I am not a ſtranger to that ſort of Philoſophy which derides the ſenſibility that now oppreſſes me: which holds in contempt the very idea of Benevolence, ſtrictly ſo called, and all principles of Action that may be derived from it; reſolving

* For more particular information, ſee in ſeveral places Benezet, from whom this account is in great meaſure taken.

‡ See Benezet, p. 104, &c.

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the Whole of Human Conduct, immediately, or ultimately to the ſole motive of Self-Love. There is alſo a mode of ſingular affectation now prevalent among us, ſomething different from this Philoſophy, and yet in ſome degree related to it. A ſort of pretended Inſenſibility, and Indifference to all that paſſes in this world. A man of this caſt would as ſoon ſee one of his fellow-creatures extended on the Rack, as ſee him made happy: would with equal apathy hear of a city and all its inhabitants deſtroyed by fire, or ſwallowed up by an earthquake, as receive information of its proſperity by ſome ſignal bleſſing of Providence. And though he would not give himſelf the trouble to do any poſitive harm, would not move a finger to perform any benevolent office. Equally indifferent are theſe perſons to the happineſs or miſery of others; and would be as well pleaſed with the continuance as with the Abolition of Slavery. With ſuch Philoſophers it is in vain to plead in the cauſe of Humanity; but with thoſe of an unbiaſed mind and a benevolent ſpirit, I ſhall hope for pardon, if I requeſt a moment of their time and attention, while I endeavour to ſhew that *Benevolence*, or the Love of others, is no leſs ſtrictly a diſtinct part of Human Nature than Self-Love.

It is evident to demonſtration, that Man could not create himſelf, but that he muſt receive his Being, his Powers, his Faculties, and all the conſtituent parts of his Nature from ſome ſuperior Power, from God. It ſeems alſo that God did not intend Man to be a meer ſolitary creature, but that he ſhonld be connected with his fellows in his own claſs of Beings. On this ſuppoſition

Man

Man was plainly intended to exiſt in a double capacity, as an Individual, and as a Member of Society. Now as it is univerſally allowed, that for the preſervation and well-being of the Individual God has beſtowed upon him the principle of Self-Love, it may reaſonably be preſumed, that for the preſervation and well being of Society, he would alſo beſtow the Principle of Benevolence. The Supreme and Perfect Workman cannot be imperfect in his operations, or leave the principal part of his performance defective. If he intended that Man ſhould exiſt in this double character, and furniſhed him with powers and faculties proper for his exiſtence, what reaſon can be given why he ſhould make a proviſion for one part only, and totally neglect the other? why he ſhould provide for the leaſt important part, and overlook that which is of infinitely greater importance? for there is no compariſon in point of importance, between the welfare of an Individual, and the welfare of Society. If then God thought proper to provide Man with paſſions for the good of the Individual, he would not forget thoſe for the good of Society. But if Benevolence, or the Love of others, were totally and univerſally eradicated from the Human Conſtitution, it is an impoſſibility that Human Society could be continued. And therefore we may ſafely conclude that God originally gave to Man, as a true and real motive of Conduct, the Principle of Benevolence.

Theſe two Principles in human nature, are not unlike to two plants growing near together in the ſame ſoil; of which, if one be cultivated, and the other neglected, the one will, by a ſuperfluous growth, overpower and deſtroy the other: but

but if each receives a due and proper cultivation, both will thrive, and proſper well together. So is it with reſpect to the two diſtinct Principles of Self-Love and Benevolence. And that they are truly diſtinct Principles perhaps may be better proved by Fact than by Reaſon. In numberleſs caſes exciting Compaſſion, Man is carried inſtantaneouſly into Action by an inſtinctive impulſe, before Reflection can poſſibly take place, and his conduct is determined leſs by Reaſon than by Senſibility. There may be, and I ſuppoſe there are Exceptions: but they, who are the examples of theſe Exceptions, are, in my opinion, much to be pitied, if indeed they do not deſerve ſevere condemnation. For it is the duty of every Man to cultivate thoſe paſſions and affections, which lead him to the good of others, with equal care as he does thoſe which lead him to his own good. And indeed a contrary conduct is not more a breach of Duty, than a rebellion againſt Nature. Inſomuch that Cruelty is generally denominated Inhuman, as being contrary to the general and inſtinctive impulſe of Humanity. Yet it is too well known that Men, by giving a licentious and unbounded ſway to the Selfiſh Principle, may totally extinguiſh every emotion of Benevolence; may ſtand forth abandoned and execrable monſters in Nature; may even both actually practiſe and deliberately defend the Traffick in Human Blood. But at the ſame time let all ſuch be informed, that God has given his laſt and perfect diſpenſation upon this ground, that Benevolence is an Eſſential part of the Human Frame: and that he has not only made the Chriſtian Inſtitution conformable to every emotion of this moſt amiable

amiable principle, but has required the exerciſe of it, according to our reſpective ſituations, not only as a diſtinguiſhing and characteriſtic mark, but an abſolute and indiſpenſible duty of the Profeſſion. Let them be informed that the Diſtinctions of Men in Civil Society cannot exempt them from this Duty. That High and Low, Rich and Poor, are all equally bound by it. That the Caſuiſtical determinations of Lawyers are vain and deluſive: that Politicians cannot authorize injuſtice and cruelty: that the Permiſſions or Sanctions of Human Legiſlators, and the worldly intereſts of Commercial men are of no account in the ſight of God: that the bloody cruelties of all who are concerned directly or indirectly in promoting the horrid Traffick of our brethren in Nature and Blood, are all naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do; who is of purer eyes than to behold ſuch iniquities but with deteſtation; and who for theſe things will call every man into judgement, and will ſeverely puniſh ſuch daring Rebellion, as overturns, and ſo far as it extends, totally eradicates his moſt benevolent diſpenſation.

That the Parliament of Great Britain, an aſſembly of Chriſtian Legiſlators, ſhould give ſanction to ſuch abominable deeds, directly or indirectly, that they ſhould condeſcend to give to the Slave Trade any notice but to ordain its Abolition, is indeed very ſtrange; but that a Reverend Divine ſhould proclaim it defenſible by Scripture is truly aſtoniſhing.

Let us charitably ſuppoſe that ignorance of the true merits of the caſe, that deluſion from falſe repreſentations, that impreſſions from the firſt idea

idea of profit, without a due conſideration of the Sources of that profit, that a want of attention to the real evils attendant upon an imaginary good, may have produced theſe indefenſible proceedings: let us ſuppoſe any cauſe rather than a hardened malignity of heart, and open defiance of the Almighty.

As to the Commercial advantages falſly pretended, I cannot deign to give them a moment's conſideration. They are unjuſt, wicked, indefenſible in the extreme, nor, be they what they may, can any human inſtitution whatſoever give them a proper ſanction. But farther, theſe Commercial advantages, ſaid to ariſe from the Slave Trade, may demonſtratively be better promoted by its total abolition, than by its continuance; as I doubt not will be fully ſhewn in due time.

The apprehenſion of danger from the *immediate* Emancipation of thoſe who are at preſent in the ſtate of Slavery is a meer Chimæra; becauſe the *immediate* Emancipation is not deſired; and the turbulence of Spirit, ſaid to have been already ſhewn by them on the expectation of it, is an exaggeration, if not a forgery. And even on ſuppoſition of a general emancipation, yet they would all be abſolutely diſarmed, and a ſingle regiment under the direction of the civil Magiſtrate would preſerve the whole Iſland of Jamaica in perfect ſecurity. This however is all pretence; the Negroes are not blind to their own intereſt and happineſs. But a *general* and *immediate* manumiſſion does not ſeem to be required. Suppoſe that they who have been ſeven years in Slavery immediately receive Political Exiſtence, and be upon the footing of hired ſervants; that they who have

have been ſix years, receive their freedom in one, they of five years in two, they of four years in three, they of three years in four, they of two years in five, they of one year in ſix: but for the future, and from the preſent moment, let all farther Importation be abſolutely aboliſhed. Or let any other mode of Emancipation be agreed on that ſhall be conſonant to ſound Policy, provided alſo that it be conſiſtent with the precepts of the Goſpel, and the Rights of Humanity. What is to be feared? Our benevolent and amiable brethren, under the common denomination of Quakers, have ſet us a noble example. They, from a ſenſe of duty and conſcience, to their immortal honour have made the experiment; they have found it unattended with evil, attended with good: and it is certain, that the ſame good effects would follow the ſame experiment whereſoever it ſhall be made. In proof of this and ſeveral important articles relative to it, and conſequent upon it, I muſt refer the reader to Mr. Clarkſon, and the other authors who have written upon this part of the ſubject.

Yet after all, it would not be conſiſtent with candour not to confeſs that the native inhabitants of many kingdoms in Africa, to what cauſe ſoever their miſery may be attributed, in general are at preſent, and have been for the courſe of many years in a moſt deplorable condition: in a condition next in miſery to that of Weſt-Indian Slavery. With reſpect to every thing relative to Religion, where they have not conformed to the Law of Mahomet, they are for the moſt part deluded by the groſſeſt Superſtition and Idolatry. There are indeed in many parts ſome cuſtoms and ceremonies

ceremonies, that plainly appear to be of Jewiſh origin, but theſe in the courſe of time have been greatly debaſed. In ſome countries a ſpecies of Superſtition is prevalent that ſeems to be of much higher antiquity. On the Weſtern coaſt, in the kingdom of Whidah, in the Empire of Benin, and in ſeveral other places, to this day, I believe, is obſerved the worſhip of the Serpent. In the Metropolis of the latter, and in the entrance to the Royal Palace, which is of prodigious dimenſions, the central gate is decorated at the top with a turret of a ſpiral form ſeventy feet high. Upon the very extremity of this is fixed a large Copper Serpent, well caſt, carved, and bearing marks of a proficiency in the arts. Within is an area of fine turf, a quarter of a mile in length, and near as much in breadth. The entrance to the King's dwelling houſe is by a porch, over which is another Serpent, done probably by the ſame artiſt as that on the Turret*. This is the principal object of Adoration: and of their high veneration paid to it the Engliſh hath a tragical confirmation, as is affirmed by the concurring teſtimony of Barbot, Boſman, and other writers. When we firſt made a ſettlement in Whidah, a Sailor ignorantly killed one of theſe ſacred Serpents. The inhabitants to revenge this ſacrilege, aſſembled, attacked the Engliſh, maſſacred them all, and conſumed their bodies and their goods in the fire they had ſet to their Warehouſes †.

This ſpecies of Idolatry, if accurately inveſtigated, might lead to a very entertaining and in-

* Hiſt. of Benin, Mod. Un. Hiſt. Vol. 16.
† Mod. Un. Hiſt. of Whidah, Vol. 16. p. 412.

ſtructive hiſtory. It is well known that Hope and Fear are the powerful motives to Idolatry as well as true Religion: that ſome objects are worſhipped from the hope of Good, and others from the dread of Evil. And it is not improbable that ſome traditional account, that the Serpent is the Great Enemy of Mankind, and was from the beginning the Author of Human Miſery, may have been tranſmitted from Antediluvian authority, through the dark ages of ignorance and barbariſm; and may have given riſe to that ſort of ſuperſtitious idolatry of which veſtiges may be traced from the moſt Eaſtern parts of Aſia to the Weſtern coaſt of Africa: that is, from one extremity of the old world to its very oppoſite extreme. This idolatry in ſome of the African dominions is attended with various rites and ceremonies, equally abſurd and cruel. But the barbarous cuſtoms of that ſavage race of men, called the Ghiagas, who ſubdued many kingdoms in different parts of Africa, being ſometimes added to the national idolatry, are too horrid to be deſcribed. For like ſome Idolaters of ancient times, they ſlew their children in their ſacrifices, uſed ſecret and dreadful ceremonies, and made revellings of ſtrange rites. Theſe were carried to a moſt abominable exceſs by many of the Ghiagan princes, particularly by two female Commanders, called Tembandumba, and Zingha. The firſt of whom lived and died a ſavage monſter. The other is one of the moſt extraordinary characters that has appeared in any age or country. If the vices of her ſavage life were great, the virtues of her reformed ſtate were great in proportion: in both ſhe ſhewed uncommon magnanimity of reſolution.

ſolution. She had been driven out of her dominions by the Portugueſe, with whom ſhe maintained a deſperate war for ſeveral years, and at laſt entered into a long political negotiation with Don John de Souſa, the Portugueſe Viceroy at Loando, about 1620, in which ſhe ſhewed as much artifice and addreſs as any European Negotiator. This correſpondence began in 1648, and continued to 1651. During great part of her time the Ghiagan ſuperſtition raged in all its horrors. Zingha however after being converted by the Portugueſe Monks, and having relapſed again to Heatheniſm, at length became, and died, a ſincere Chriſtian. She died Dec. 17, 1663, aged 82, and was ſucceeded in her Dominions by her ſiſter Barbara, alſo a Chriſtian *. There ſeems to have been the ſame ſort of management in the converſion of this Empreſs, as in that of the Emperor Conſtantine; a miraculous croſs was made uſe of on both occaſions.

The circumſtances related above prove indeed the Inhabitants of theſe parts of Africa to have been to a great degree ignorant and ſavage; yet it ought to be remembered, that theſe Ghiagans were fierce and cruel invaders, who overturned all Laws and Government, totally ruined the Country whereſoever they came, and deſtroyed, with the utmoſt cruelty, all the inhabitants who did not join their party. What has been ſaid before reſpecting the happy circumſtances of many regions of this great continent, and the amiable diſpoſition of the Natives, muſt be underſtood of

* See Mod. Un. Hiſt. Vol. 15, 16, &c. theſe examples contribute to the refutation of the wild aſſertions that the Africans are not capable of Religion, &c. &c.

thoſe parts, and of thoſe people who have not been ſubjected to the ravages of the Ghiagas. In many parts the Original natives have been extirpated by them: in others, where poſſibly ſome might have been left, devaſtation and cruelties equal to the Ghiagan, have now been perpetrated for ſome centuries by the European Dealers in Human Blood. The regions near the ſea are in a great degree depopulated: the poor creatures, who are brought from the inland parts, are doubtleſs ignorant, uncivilized, and, if it is inſiſted on, we will ſay unhappy. But does this give us a Title to enſlave them? It may, perhaps, be ſaid that they are Slaves in their own country. What then? Does this improve our title? it may poſſibly be the unfortunate conſtitution of their country. But what would the King of France, or the Empreſs of Ruſſia ſay to the Captain of a Guinea man, who ſhould load his ſhip with their ſubjects, under the pretext that they were Slaves in France or Ruſſia? The native inhabitants of Africa may probably want nothing but Weſt-Indian Slavery to make their wretchedneſs compleat: and ſhall we, CHRISTIANS, pour in this dreadful addition to fill to the brim their meaſure of miſery? oh! hardneſs of heart beyond imagination! it is ſaid that Nature gave Man the moſt compaſſionate heart when ſhe gave him the power of Tears.

——— molliſſima corda
Humano Generi dare ſe Natura fatetur
Quæ lacrymas dedit ——

but we are eſtranged from our Nature; we have no tear to beſtow, no heart to feel the ſufferings of

of theſe our fellow-creatures: oh! ſhame that ſuch reproach muſt reſt upon us without poſſibility of refutation.

——— pudet, hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuiſſe, et non potuiſſe refelli.

It is now high time to conclude this very imperfect, and I fear equally ineffectual, effort in favour of thoſe who are deeply injured, and utterly unable to help themſelves, with a few ſhort obſervations upon the Nature and Duties of Legiſlation. My intention throughout, is unimpeachable, is undoubtedly laudable. But whether that alone may be a ſufficient apology for many defects, ariſing from many diſagreeable cauſes, from an indiſpenſible attention to intervening avocations, from the preſſure of misfortunes, and various other interruptions, muſt be left to the indulgence of the candid reader.

Legiſlation then is the moſt ſolemn office, the moſt ſacred truſt in which Man can be concerned. In the execution of this office, and the diſcharge of this truſt, Men ſtand, as it were, in the place of God. They are his Delegates. They act for him. Their duty therefore is to do in all caſes (if we be allowed the phraſe) as he himſelf would do. This duty is both Negative and Poſitive. They are not to do Evil; and they are to do Good. They are not to do Evil, even that Good may come. The happineſs and miſery of their fellow creatures is put into their hands, and they are by all means in their power to remove the one and to promote the other. They ought religiouſly to eſtabliſh Juſtice, and to temper ſtrict Juſtice with Mercy. Their deciſions ſhould in

all inſtances be Holy, Juſt, and Good. They ſhould be conſiſtent with the will of God, and the Natural Rights of Man. Thus, and thus only, can Legiſlators fulfil their own duty, and confirm the happineſs of Society. Then, when they muſt reſign this, and every other Truſt in this life, though they muſt die like Men, they will fall like Princes, and it may with ſome propriety be ſaid of them, Ye are Gods. For men cannot in any reſpect approach ſo near to Divinity of character, as by conferring Happineſs on Men.

On the contrary, if they careleſsly neglect their Duty, if they wilfully betray their Truſt, if from a contraction of thought and partial views they ſhall juſtify Oppreſſion, and give Sanction to Cruelty, if with deliberate purpoſe of mind they ſhall eſtabliſh Evil and call it Good, the Prophet plainly ſays, Woe unto them! For there is a God who overſeeth their doings, to whom they are accountable for their determinations. Who hath ordained his arrows againſt all Perſecutors, and the miſchief of the Oppreſſor ſhall return upon his own head.

If farther they ſhould in open contradiction to the known will of God, and the acknowledged Rights of Man, not only indirectly give Sanction to Oppreſſion, Rapine, Cruelty, and Murther, but even ſit in ſolemn debate on the permiſſive mode of perpetrating theſe horrid crimes—— this would be a degree of profligacy, and hardneſs of heart far ſurpaſſing that which inſtructed Gladiators in a graceful attitude of expiring, or tuned the Incendiary's harp to harmony while his flames were reducing Imperial Rome, the miſtreſs of the world, to aſhes.

But

But it cannot be believed that Legiſlators ſhould enter into a ſolemn conſultation on the mode of doing that which they ought not to do; on the mode they ſhall appoint for the commiſſion of an atrocious crime, that ought to fill their minds with horror. For this would partake in no ſmall degree of that hardened depravity of mind which gave men indulgencies and a formal permiſſion to commit Sin.

It has indeed been publicly aſſerted, but ſurely cannot be true, that under the forms of ſerious debate, one Senator, making pretence of ſome reformation in the manner of carrying on this buſineſs, gave a ſolemn aſſurance to another ſtrenuous advocate for Slavery, that this aſſumed appearance of Benevolence ſhould not be any prejudice to the general Traffick in Human Fleſh. It has alſo been publicly aſſerted that other Senators have warmly diſputed, whether a Negroe, ſo many inches tall, ſhall be a Man Slave or an Infant Slave. Theſe things (ſuppoſing them true) would be matter of juſt ridicule, were it not for the horrors of the crime, and that impenetrable hardneſs of heart in which all ſuch debate is of neceſſity involved. For Legiſlators have not any Right to engage in *ſupport* of a buſineſs which is inconſiſtent with the Will of God and the Rights of Man; nor can they in the leaſt degree be juſtified for entering upon it, except it were totally to aboliſh it. They cannot poſſibly have any right, forcibly, without cauſe, and without conſent, to deprive any one of Liberty, eſpecially one over whom they cannot pretend to have any juriſdiction; and as they cannot be juſtified for giving ſanction to Murther, they cannot, properly,

give ſanction to Slavery, which certainly ends in murther, whether the perſon murthered be of mature or infant age. Their *Power* is not diſputed. Their *Right* is in the moſt abſolute and expreſs terms denied. In England the *Power* of Parliament was once exerted to puniſh by burning alive for a ſpeculative difference of religious opinion. Horrid as it is, hiſtorical evidence proves the fact; but will any one ſay, that the determination, for I cannot call it Law, was to be juſtified, or that it was entitled to Obedience? In the ſame light I view Determinations concerning the Trade in Human Blood. They are abſolutely and eſſentially Evil: they are therefore from the beginning void; nor is there any thing to ſupport them but meer *Power*. They are, really, more abominable than the bloody ſtatutes of the bloody-minded Henry; inaſmuch as they ſubſtitute a lingering death by torture both of body and mind, in room of a ſpeedy one by Fire. Henry's Perſecutions affected only a few Individuals, but theſe, Kingdoms, Millions; Millions too, over whom this Nation cannot poſſibly pretend to have any Juriſdiction or Authority.

Farther, under the hypocritical pretence of Benevolence to eſtabliſh regulations for the forcible ſeparation of a Man from his Property, is to turn Virtue into Vice, and, in this inſtance, to make it a Sanction for Robbery. For, with reſpect to Invaſion of Right, it is much the ſame thing, whether I violently take away his property from the Man, or the Man from his property; only in the latter caſe the Cruelty is infinitely encreaſed, as at the ſame time he is torn from all the endearments of family, friends, and country. And if a Legal

ſanction

ſanction is given to ſuch proceedings, whatſoever the pretences may be, the meaſure takes for granted the very thing that ought firſt to be demonſtrated, That the thing to be done is in its nature Juſtifiable. That it is conſiſtent with the Will of God and the Rights of Man; with the Laws of Juſtice and Mercy. But the act of forcing the Africans into Slavery is in every conſideration abſolutely unjuſtifiable. In every action there is a beginning, a middle, and an end. The beginning of this, Avarice, Injuſtice, and Oppreſſion: the middle is Fraud, Violence, and Rapine: the end, Slavery, Torture, and Death.

Though conſcientiouſly perſuaded, and rationally convinced of the *Abſolute Evil* of this inhuman Traffick, yet am I not ſo far an Enthuſiaſt for its Reformation as to be blind to the inconveniencies attending a precipitate, an univerſal, and immediate Emancipation. A *Total Abolition* from the preſent moment, of all farther Importation, with a gradual Emancipation of thoſe unhappy perſons at preſent enſlaved, ſuch as is conſiſtent with ſound policy, and *productive of encreaſed Commercial advantages*, is all that is requeſted; and can this be reaſonably denied? I ſee and acknowledge that ſome particular perſons who have deeply engaged themſelves in this unwarrantable buſineſs may poſſibly be involved in ſome trouble, and may ſuffer ſome loſs. But particular evils ought not to obſtruct a General Good. Nor ſhould the wickedneſs in which any perſon may have voluntarily engaged himſelf, be either a pretext for continuance of the enormity, or an abſolution from its conſequences. There may be ſorrow for the Criminal; ſorrow for his loſſes

ariſing

ariſing from his crimes: but nevertheleſs, it is contrary to all juſtifiable principles of Legiſlation to give protection to his offences, merely becauſe he has to a degree, uncommonly enormous, offended againſt common Juſtice, and Humanity, and the poſitive precepts of the Chriſtian Religion.

Let us ſuppoſe that a Trader has actually received, as he has the effrontery publickly to aver, 300,000l. from the King of Spain, on condition of tranſporting annually to the Spaniſh iſlands 3000 Slaves by 600 in a Ship——this, in the firſt inſtance, is a horrid iniquity. But a plan is in agitation to relieve, in ſome meaſure, the miſery of thoſe poor creatures, by obliging this trader to carry in one ſhip only 400, inſtead of 600. This meaſure, at the time that it leſſened their miſery, would indeed, in ſome degree, leſſen the gains from his iniquitous contract. He therefore preſents a petition, praying to be exempted from complying with this act of kindneſs, and to be permitted to proceed in the cuſtomary method. His petition is granted. O tempora! O mores!

That a *Real* Chriſtian ſhould engage in ſuch a contract is impoſſible. A nominal Sectariſt is nothing. For it is not the oſtentation of the Name, but the practice of the Duties that conſtitutes the Chriſtian.

And he who deliberately acts in open defiance, and direct contradiction to the known will of God, and the fundamental Laws of Chriſt's Inſtitution, I muſt repeat it, is not a Chriſtian. Such a one is an Apoſtate in the worſt acceptation of the word, and it is equally a mockery of God, and an inſult upon common ſenſe to give him that Appellation.

That

That ſuch a petition, from ſuch a perſon, ſhould be ſuffered to be preſented to a Legiſlature of Chriſtians, is wonderful! that a Legiſlature of Chriſtians ſhould grant it, were it not fact, would be thought incredible. For in this caſe, right or wrong never can have been taken into conſideration; and the meer gain to an individual, by an unjuſtifiable commerce, is all that has been thought worthy of attention.

Ye Sons of Rome, let money firſt be ſought;
Virtue is only worth a ſecond thought.
This maxim echoes thro' the Bankers ſtreet,
While young and old the pleaſing ſtrain repeat;
—My friend get money, get a large Eſtate
By any means, get it at any rate*.

FRANCIS.

But on ſuppoſition of the Total Abolition of the Slave Trade, ſo far as we are engaged in it, it is ſaid that the advantages ariſing from it would only be transferred to the Spaniſh, Portugueſe, French, Dutch, or any other who may be concerned it: that this effort would only remove the malady from one part to another, not eradicate it: that we ſhould loſe the profit and give it to our neighbours. In God's name be it ſo, if by relinquiſhing the profit, we ſtand clear of the guilt. But this argument from profit entirely loſes its force when we conſider that *greater national advantages* would really ariſe from a dif-

* O cives, cives quæranda Pecunia primum eſt;
Virtus poſt nummos; hæc Janus ſummus ab imo
Perdocet; hæc recinunt juvenes dictata ſeneſque
——Rem facias Rem——
——Quocunque modo Rem.——

ferent

ferent mode of commerce with Africa, by taking in exchange for our commodities, inſtead of Natives, the Salt Petre, Ivory, Gums, Medicinal Drugs, Silver, Gold, and many other very valuable articles, of which the Continent of Africa is a Source abſolutely inexhauſtible. If to this we add the farther conſideration, that the *peculiar buſineſs* of the *Weſt Indian* plantation may alſo be better conducted by the Abolition than by the Continuance of Slavery, and more to the advantage both of the Public and the Planters themſelves: that the continuance is *Impolitic* in the higheſt degree, and is ſolely owing to the obſtinate, perverſe, and hardened Iniquity of profligate and mercenary individuals, and that theſe points are as capable of direct demonſtration as any propoſition in Euclid; it may be hoped that the Public will, in this inſtance, ſo far interfere as to oblige theſe Individuals to accept of their own Good, and at the ſame time promote the Good of the Public. From the beſt information that I have been able, at no ſmall trouble, to collect, I verily believe that all I have here advanced is ſtrictly true. But I ſhall not enter upon this part of the ſubject on which Mr. Clarkſon has promiſed us a diſtinct treatment, in which I prophecy that he will prove, what I have now hinted, in a very full and ſatisfactory manner *.

The

* Since theſe papers were delivered to the Preſs, I have had the pleaſure of peruſing Mr. Clarkſon's incomparable Eſſay on the *Impolicy* of the Slave Trade. Nothing more need now, or can indeed, be ſaid upon the ſubject. It is univerſally confeſſed that this horrid traffick is inconſiſtent with every principle of Humanity, with every Rule of Moral Duty, with every Precept of the Chriſtian Religion. Yet Political Neceſſity, with many, has its weight, and has been urged as an unanſwerable plea in favour of

The plea from Humanity urged by a noble Peer, ſtating, that if we did not take the Slaves, they would be murthered, cannot be admitted, being entirely imaginary. In caſe it were true, immediate Death is really preferable to *Modern Slavery*. But on the other hand, if it be alſo true, that by an Abolition, ſo far as we are concerned, the Commerce would ſtill be carried on by others, the Objection falls to the Ground, as the African Slave-ſellers would ſtill have their market, and not have any pretence for immediate murther.

But how cutting muſt ſuch diſquiſitions be to every heart of common ſenſibility! and how abhorrent is the genuine Spirit of Chriſtianity of all ſuch deteſtable practices! Alas! why do I mention the Spirit of Chriſtianity? ſince a Religious Principle has long ceaſed to be a Principle of Conduct; and in its fall has dragged down with it all influence even of the Moral Principles, whereſoever they are thought to carry any oppoſition to the accurſed Luſt of Lucre.

How far views merely mercantile, and caſuiſtry merely political, may juſtify Legiſlators on the day of Judgement and final Retribution, muſt be left to the righteous deciſions of that important hour, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be

of this practice, becauſe, according to the Proverb, Neceſſity has no Law. But Mr. Clarkſon has now decided this point by abſolute demonſtration. He has ſhewn it to be Detrimental to the Individuals concerned in it, Detrimental to the Public, and in every poſſible view highly *Impolitic*. We have therefore nothing now to do but wait with patience, and ſee whether the Iron hand of Power, in ſupporting the obſtinate wickedneſs of a very few profligate Individuals, will ſtrike down every conſideration from Religion and Morals, from Common Humanity, and from what, with many ſeems to be worth all the reſt, Sound Policy.

diſcloſed,

diſcloſed, and every one receive according to his deeds and his intentions; and when he, who hath ſhewn no Mercy, ſhall receive judgment without Mercy. With reſpect to the Individuals concerned, the riches acquired by theſe iniquitous practices will then be as a ſore burthen dragging the mortal poſſeſſors to perdition, and happy would it have been for them, if, inſtead thereof, a milſtone had firſt been hanged about their necks, and themſelves drowned in the depth of the ſea.

Having, as I think, fairly proved what I undertook, namely, that Negroes are *Men*, that they are capable of an idea of *Civil Government*, of *Moral Diſtinctions* of *Religion*, of *a God*, and a *Future State of Exiſtence*; I muſt take the liberty to aſſert in the moſt unreſerved terms, that *as Men* they have an abſolute *Right* to Life, to Limb, to Property, and to Liberty: that, as they are not under our Juriſdiction, to invade their country, and by fraud and force to deprive them of theſe bleſſings, and to give ſanction to ſuch proceedings, directly or indirectly, is an action abſolutely indefenſible, and highly criminal. I ſhall therefore now conclude theſe imperfect obſervations with a ſhort, but earneſt, addreſs to the different orders in the Britiſh Legiſlature.

To the members of the loweſt Order I would, with all proper deference, inſinuate, and call to their recollection, that they profeſs themſelves to be the Guardians of Civil Liberty, the Protectors of the Injured, the Redreſſors of Wrongs, the Avengers of Oppreſſion, the Aſſertors of the Natural Rights of Man. That under theſe moſt reſpectable denominations, and in this character they are, at this inſtant, with unuſual vehemence

ſtraining

ſtraining every nerve in favour of thoſe whom they *ſuppoſe* to have ſuffered injury in Aſia: and that to preſerve conſiſtency of Character, they ought with equal zeal to exert themſelves in favour alſo of thoſe whom they muſt not only *ſuppoſe*, but really *know*, to have ſuffered ſeverer injuries in Africa. For the maxims of common Juſtice are of an Univerſal Nature, and their operation ſhould be extended equally to all the Nations upon earth.

To thoſe of the middle Order, and of hereditary right to a place in that honourable ſtation, I would, with all proper humility, repreſent, that although by the elevation of their rank they are raiſed far above the ſight, they ſhould not be above the ſenſe of human miſery. They are educated under a Syſtem of Honour, and on this foundation are inſtructed to build Virtue. Now *true* Honour joined with *real* Virtue, even excluſively of *Religion*, forms a reſpectable Character; a Character that certainly does not repudiate Univerſal Benevolence. Real Virtue will delight in doing Good: and all that is really Good is an Eſſential part of true Honour. To this noble Principle, Juſtice and Mercy make their ſupplication in the moſt emphatic terms for the natural rights of Millions inhumanly invaded—of Millions of innocent perſons, torn by barbarities unparalleled, by Cruelties beyond all power of deſcription. Theſe injured and miſerable men, for redreſs of theſe injuries, apply to your Honour, for relief under their miſeries to your Compaſſion.

To the moſt reverend members of this middle Order, who are *cloathed in Purple and fine Linen and fare ſumptuouſly every day*, I humbly recommend a

conduct

conduct conſiſtent with the peculiarity of their character, and the benevolent precepts of our Religion; a kind attention to the poor beggar at the gate, full of ſores: entreating them not to leave him to the dogs to lick them, but to adminiſter the Comforts dictated by Chriſtian Charity.

To that auguſt Perſon, who conſtitutes the higheſt Order of our Legiſlature, I apply myſelf with the greateſt confidence, on the knowledge of his excellent, and moſt amiable diſpoſition. If then determinations relative to the Slave Trade ſhould be brought before you, Sir, to be confirmed as Law, except for its Total Abolition, it is the earneſt, the devout wiſh of all good men, that you may inſtantly cruſh them. The matter, Sir, reſts entirely with you. Your conſent or refuſal will eſtabliſh the happineſs or miſery of Millions. If it be poſſible that the loweſt Order of that Legiſlature, of which you are higheſt, attending only to the clamours of a partial intereſt, ſhould diſregard the calls of Juſtice and Mercy; if it be poſſible that Lords Temporal ſhould hold in contempt their Honour, and Lords Spiritual, their Religion; ſtill it is in your power to prevent, in this inſtance, the ſad conſequences of ſuch a ſtate of Profligacy.

You well know, Sir, the relative duties of a Maſter, a Father, a King, a Chriſtian; and you not only know the Theory of theſe Duties, but are exemplary in the practice. Permit me then to lay before you the heart-rending ſituation of the "afflicted father, the anguiſh of the tender mother, now to be for ever ſeparated from their beloved offſpring: the diſtreſſed maiden wringing her hands in preſage of her approaching wretched-

wretchedneſs: the general cry of the innocent from a dreadful apprehenſion of that perpetual Slavery to which they are devoted." 'Tis like ſome hideous dream! one ſcarce can be perſuaded that ſuch a Scene is an actual Reality, conſtantly performed without remorſe, and without reſtraint by your Subjects. But you have a heart, Sir, alive to the emotions of truly Chriſtian Benevolence: and as a Father, as a Huſband, as a Chriſtian, can feel the miſeries of theſe deeply injured objects of your Compaſſion.

The writer of theſe Lines, though unknown to you, knows many of your truly benevolent Actions. Though the number of his friends be very ſmall, yet even in that ſmall number he perſonally knows, and therefore can confidently proclaim, many inſtances of your generous ſenſibility in caſes of *common* diſtreſs and affliction. With ſtrict truth, and without fear of the charge of Adulation, I might expatiate on this ſubject,

But Cæſar's Majeſty would ſure refuſe
The feeble praiſes of a humble Muſe,
Nor I with conſcious modeſty ſhould dare
Attempt a ſubject I want ſtrength to bear †.

FRANCIS.

You have already ſhewn the compaſſionate diſpoſition of your heart to mitigate the heavieſt of all human woes. Oh! permit it, Sir, to exerciſe itſelf ſtill farther on this *uncommon*, this moſt im-

† Si quantum cuperem poſſem quoque—ſed neque parvum
Carmen Majeſtas recipit tua, nec meus audet
Rem tentare pudor quam vires ferre recuſant.

Hor. Ep.

portant occaſion. Permit the piercing cries, the dying groans of Nations, by your Subjects cruelly oppreſſed and enſlaved, not only to move your tenderneſs, but to produce their proper and full effect. By one great effort of Juſtice and of Mercy enjoy the Benedictions of Millions by you made happy.

Permit me, Sir, to lay before you the words of Bartholomew de las caſas, Biſhop of Chapia, to the Emperor Charles V. on a ſimilar application.

" The ſaving the lives of thouſands inhumanly oppreſſed is my ſole object. The cruel treatment of them is too horrid to be mentioned. It is ſaid, that barbarous executions are neceſſary: but to whom is this owing? to blacken theſe unhappy people, their oppreſſors aſſert that they are ſcarce human creatures. But what right have we to enſlave a People who are born Free, and who never offended us? they are repreſented as a ſtupid people: addicted to Vice; but have they not contracted their Vices from the Chriſtians? Let us not flatter our Corruptions, nor voluntarily blind ourſelves. *All* nations are equally *Free*. One nation has no right to infringe upon the freedom of any other. Let us do towards theſe people as we would have them to have done towards us, if they had landed upon our ſhore with the ſame ſuperiority of Strength. The Apoſtles ſubmitted to chains themſelves, but loaded no man with them. Chriſt came to free, not to enſlave, us. Thouſands periſh every year through want, fatigue, mercileſs puniſhment, cruelty and barbarity. If the blood of *One* unjuſtly ſhed calls aloud for Vengeance, how ſtrong muſt be the cry of that of *Thouſands*, which is ſhedding daily! Hea-

ven

ven will one day call you to account for the numberleſs acts of Cruelty which you might have prevented."

Theſe are the words of this good Biſhop to the Emperor, who applauded his zeal, and promiſed to ſecond it; but *an Intereſt in continuing the Oppreſſion* operated ſo far that nothing was done.

May a contrary effect attend this humble ſupplication! and never, oh! never may it be neceſſary for you to pray as David did, *Deliver me from Blood guiltineſs, Oh God!*

P. S. Since the preceding pages were printed, the Author has had the pleaſure of reading three anſwers to the *Scriptural Reſearches* of Mr. H. one by Mr. Ramſey, another by Mr. Dannett, and the third, without the name of its author, under the Title of a *Scriptural Refutation.* Far be it from me to inſult a fallen foe; and I therefore hope that Mr. H. will not think it the inſolence of triumph, if I pay the debt of common juſtice to ſuperior merit, by publiſhing the compleat Victory obtained by theſe authors over their Antagoniſt. Who have traced him through all the turns, windings, and ſubterfuges of his intricate and deluſive labyrinth; who with a maſterly hand, have laid before the Tribunal of the Public all his fallacies with great clearneſs and preciſion; and (particularly the anonymous author above mentioned) with an elegant energy of Stile, and irrefragable force of Argument have fully decided the point in controv ·ſy between them.

Had it been my g' ·d fortune to have ſeen theſe excellent

excellent performances before this meaner one of mine had employed the preſs, I ſhould not have preſumed to obtrude upon the Public what muſt now appear in a very inferior light. But my obſervations had principally a different object in view; and the *Reſearches* of Mr. H. were only a collateral and caſual ſubject of inveſtigation.

I drew the rough ſketch of Africa annexed to theſe obſervations, not pretending to Geographical accuracy, but merely with a view to ſhew the relative poſition of the ſeveral places to which frequent reference is made in this little treatiſe: thinking it might poſſibly help to give a clearer idea of the ſituation of thoſe Countries to the readers, who might not be well acquainted with the Geography of that immenſe Continent. And here, as in all other matters, I humbly hope that the Merit of a good Intention will procure indulgence to the Demerits of the Performance.

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